

A  
D E F E N C E  
OF THE  
A N T I Q U I T Y  
OF THE  
**Royal Line**  
O F  
S C O T L A N D.

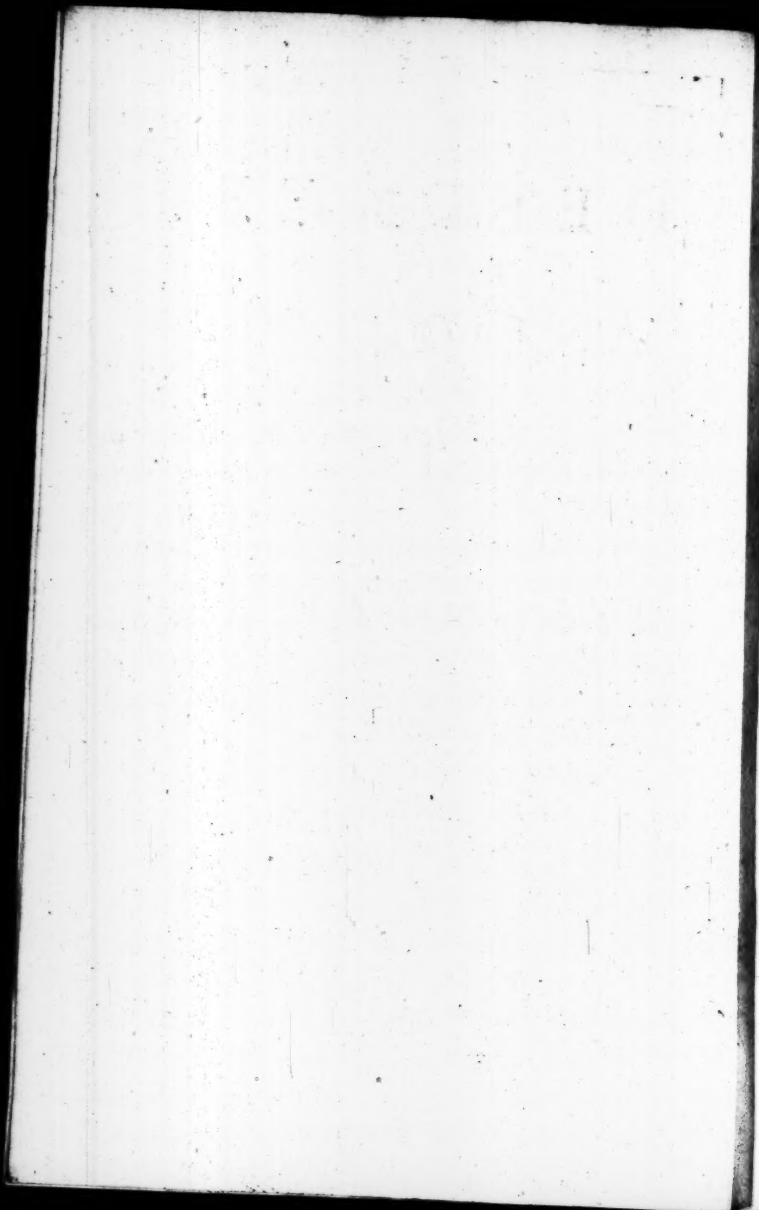
W I T H  
A true Account when the  
*Scots* were govern'd by Kings  
in the Isle of *Britain*.

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By Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE His  
*Majesty's* Advocate in *Scotland*.

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*London*, Printed for *Ri. Chiswell*, at the Rose  
and Crown in *St. Paul's Church-yard*. 1685.





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*To the KING.*

S I R,

**D**ivine Providence having  
suffered these Kingdoms  
to destroy one another for  
many Ages, in divided Monar-  
chies; reserv'd their happy Union  
for the Merciful Royal Family, of  
which *Your Majesty* is now the  
*Head*: and mingl'd lawfully in  
their Veins, all those many and  
different Bloods-Royal, which  
pretended to any Sovereignty in  
these your Dominions: designing  
thereby at once to reward the  
Vertue of *Your Majesty's* Prede-  
cessors, and to endear that Union  
to us, in preventing future De-  
bates. In King *James*, Your Royal  
Grand-Father, these Nations got

v. The last  
four pages  
of the  
Book.

## *The Epistle*

a Monarch, who was acknowledged to be the *Solomon* of His Age : who excell'd all His Contemporary Princes in \* King-Craft ; all his Ministers in Prudence ; and all His Doctors in Learning. None of his Subjects understood the Law better, or observ'd it more : and who knew as well all that was done at Council-Tables abroad, as they who sat at them. To Him succeeded *Your Majesty's Royal Father*, whose Life was the best Law a King could make : who knew no use of Power, save to do good by it : who was less careful of His own Blood, than of that of his Subjects : And I may justly say, that Heaven only was govern'd by a better King. After we had shown our selves unworthy of such Monarchs, the Divine Goodness, to try us once more,

\* *His own word.*

## *Dedicatory.*

more, gave us *Your Gracious Brother*, whose Clemency (after so many and so great Injuries) was as great a Miracle as His Restoration: who knew every thing save to be severe; and could bear every thing, save to see His People in trouble: who after the abuse of His Goodness, had made his Enemies so insolent, that His Servants concluded all was lost; did, by His extraordinary parts, with a gentle easiness, peculiar to Himself, dissipate those execrable Combinations, to our great satisfaction and amazement. But, *Sir*, the Conscience of His Enemies, will far exceed in His Praises, the Eloquence of His Servants; and so my trembling Hand leaves this Melancholy Subject.

His

## *The Epistle*

His Throne is now fill'd with  
*Your Sacred Majesty*, whose Abi-  
lities Your Royal Brother esteem'd  
so much, that He shar'd with  
You the Exercise of the Go-  
vernment, before His Death gave  
you the Possession of the Crown.  
In You, *Sir*, Your People have  
a *General* to their *Armies*, an *Ad-  
miral* to their *Fleet*, a *Treasurer*  
to their *Mony*: whose Courage  
can lead them as far as theirs can  
follow; and raise the Glory of  
these Kingdoms as high as they  
can wish: So that if they be not  
happy, they will have this Addi-  
tion to their Misfortunes, that  
the World will see, that they  
themselves are only to be blam'd  
for it.

Our Country, *Sir*, does not  
boast of a rich Soil, or a hot Sun:  
but it may, that it has given these  
happy

## *Dedicatory.*

happy Islands those Gracious and Glorious Kings. In return whereof, we might have expected kinder Rewards, than that any of their Natives should debate its Antiquity, and the Veracity of those Histories wherein the great Actions of Your Royal Predecessors were recorded. And since the Honour of the Ancient and Royal Race of our Sovereigns is the chief thing wherein we Glory; it is hard to deny us a Favour, so just on our part, and so easy on theirs. However, *Sir*, since I presume, that those of Your other Subjects, who controvert this, do so, rather from want of information, than from unkindness; I, who am resolv'd to make the defence of Your meanest Priviledges my greatest Honour, have thought it incumbent to me, as *Your Advocate*, to

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*The Epistle, &c.*

undertake the defence of that Antiquity, which makes *Your Majesty* the most Ancient Monarch upon Earth. Which Argument, I hope, I have manag'd with that Candour, which becomes an honest Man, and that Zeal which is the Duty of,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most Dutiful,

Loyal, and Obedient

Subject and

Servant,

*Geo. Mackenzie.*

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A LETTER to the  
EARL of PERTH,  
Lord High Chancellor of  
SCOTLAND,

*Upon his having sent to the Author  
the Bishop of St. Asaph's Book.  
With some Reflections upon the  
Design of that Book.*

*My Lord,*

I Have read the *Book* you sent me,  
with that delight I did of old a  
*Play* ; which one may think it  
resembles more, than our *Histo-*  
*ries* do a *Romance* : For what is tru-  
ly related, is so disguised and trans-  
posed, as may best suit with the Au-  
thor's Design ; and with a *Rhetorick*  
so Polite and Comical, that if the  
Reasons do not convince, yet the Hu-

mour and Stile may charm, and please, even some of those against whom it is design'd. This made me unwilling at first to undertake to answer a Book, which I suppose might have more Admirers than Profelytes : but finding, upon a second perusal, that the Author had not fully examined the Grounds upon which our Historians proceeded, or had suffered himself to be byas'd by Zeal for his Order, or Partiality to his Country ; And that this whole Kingdom take it as an Injury done, not only to the Antiquity of the *Royal Family*, but to this our Nation in general ; I was at last prevail'd with to enter the Lists, with a kind Design, by a sober and candid Information, rather to convince and satisfy the Author, and those he may have misled, than to acquire the vain glory of such a Victory, especially over one who bears the Character of a Bishop, for which I have so great a Veneration : Altho, for the Reasons following, I cannot but dislike his unnecessary Undertaking, and unseasonable and partial Management, of a National Debate, which



which \* we are prohibited to enter <sup>\*Ja.6.Par.20.  
c.9.</sup> upon under pain of a Sedition.

1. I am sorry, that while these Kingdoms are unhappily divided, not in Nations, but Opinions; the old Animosities amongst Scots, English, and Irish, being forgot and buried, and the modern Differences between the *Episcopal* and *Fanatick*, and *Cavalier* and *Republican*, or, as some term it, *Whig* and *Tory*, are so violent and turbulent; the Author should have diverted our just and dutiful Zeal, by imploying it in defence of an important right of *State*, unkindly, as well as unnecessarily invaded: so as the other, of near concern to the Church, may in some measure come to be neglected.

2. The pretext for writing this Book, wherein the Antiquity of our Kings and Nation is so much disparag'd, being, that the *Presbyterians*, and particularly *Blondel*, urg'd from our Historians, that we had a Church for some Years without Bishops: it seem'd neither just nor fit, that any Episcopal Author should have magnify'd so highly the meanest Argument that ever was us'd by a *Presby-*

terian ; as for it, to cut off 44 *Kings* (all preceding *Coranus*, who began his Reign *anno* 501 ) and to expose on a *Pillory* as *Forgers*, our many and grave *Historians*. And that it is a weak Argument, appears from this, that I have met with very few *Laicks* in all our Country, who had heard of it ; nor with one, even of these few, who had valu'd it : and so this Author may be said, rather to have suggested a new Argument, than to have answered an old One : For they urge now nothing to us, save places of Scripture ; resolving to have their *Presbytery*, *Juris Divini* : knowing that nothing less can secure them, in opposing the Laws of the Kingdom. And what can the *Presbyterians* think of their other Arguments, which they value much. Since this, which they valu'd so little, is thought of such force, by a learned Bishop, as to deserve a whole Book, the cutting off of 44 *Kings*, and the offending a *Nation of Friends*. It is also very remarkable, that the learn'd Doctor *Hammond*, a great Champion of *Episcopacy*, owns the Antiquity of our *Nation* :

*Nation* ; and answers fully that Argument, without overturning the truth of our History, or wronging the Antiquity of our *Royal-Line* : whereas *Baxter* the *Presbyterian* urges this Citation, and yet agrees with this Author in opposing the Antiquity of our History ; approving what is said by *Cambden* and *Usher* ; and in a Letter to the Duke of *Lauderdale* asserting the lateness of our settlement here. Which shews, that there is no necessity lying upon such as own *Episcopacy*, to wrong the Antiquity of our *Kings* and *Nation*. But how the necessity of a private corner of a remote Country in *Ecclesiâ constituendâ*, could wrong the general practice of the *Church* ; is as little to be understood, as it is undeniable, that many thousands in *Japan*, and *China*, were converted by *Presbyters*, before *Bishops* were sent thither. And since it cannot be deny'd, but that those who ordain'd our *Presbyters* were *Bishops* ; it necessarily follows, that *Episcopacy* was settl'd in the *Christian Church* before we had *Presbyters* or *Culdees* : or else, if these who ordain'd our

*Presbyters* were not *Bishops*, the practice of that *Church*, whereby our *Presbyters* were ordain'd, should have been impugn'd, and not the *Authority* of our *Histories*, and the *Antiquity* of our *Royal-Line* overturn'd. And though this Reverend and Learn'd *Author* could prove, that we were not settled here, before the Year 503, yet that could not answer the Argument: for the *Culdees* might have been settled before that time in this Country, where we now live, though amongst the *Picts*; for it cannot be deny'd but the *Picts* were settled in this Country before that time. And when our Historians say that the *Abbots* of *Icolm-kill* had Jurisdiction over all the *Bishops* of the *Province*; that is to be understood, as *Beda* observes, *more inusitato*; and my Lord St. *Asaph* himself well remarks these words, and gives a full and clear vindication of the passages of *Beda* in the 173, and following *Pages*; and might have rested therein, and needed not to have been driven to seek a new Answer in overturning the Antiquity of our Nation. Many examples  
can

can be given of Jurisdiction of *Presbyters*, and even of *Deacons* over *Bishops* in the *Canon Law* and *History*. So that this instance from our *Historians* makes nothing against *Episcopacy*. And latter *Historians* meeting with these ambiguous words in our *Annals*, *De signatus*, *Electus*, *Ordinatus*, were by a mistake induc'd to appropriate these words to the formal Ceremony of *Ordination and Imposition of Hands*. And I find, by the Bishop's Concession, \* that the *Abbess Hilda* did elect and send forth such of her Monks, as she thought fit to be ordain'd: which is all that our *Culdees*, and ancient Monks did. Thus a King may be said to make one a Bishop, or a Mother to have made one of her Sons a Church-man; which answer, the learned *Nicol*, a zealous friend to *Episcopacy*, thought sufficient to elide *Blondel's* Arguments from our *Historians*, without denying the Antiquity of our Nation, or troubling himself with our \* *Culdees*. And if *Beda* had heard that the *Presbyters* did ordain Bishops, he had remark'd it as a most unusual

\* Pag. 169, 170.  
171.

\* See his late Book, entituled, *Les pretendus reformes conuans du Schisme*, p. 547. 548, 549, 550.

unusal thing, having marked that the Abbots had jurisdiction over Bishops, they being but Presbyters; such an Ordination being much more extraordinary, than such a Jurisdiction. And might not my Lord St. *Asaph* as well have inveigh'd against *Gildas* and the British Historians, because he says \* that Church-men were ordain'd by the consent of the Bishops and the rest of the *Presbyters*, from which *Presbyterians*, and particularly the same, *Blondel* † infers a parity betwixt Bishops and Presbyters. And from which it appears, that dangerous Consequences should not be drawn from the dubious and heedless expressions of old Authors, living in rude Times and Places: and from all which we might have been secure, that my Lord St. *Asaph* would have concur'd with the wise answer, which *Spotswood*, Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews* (with whom the learn'd *Hammond* agrees) gave to that silly Argument, without affronting him as a betrayer of the Episcopal Cause; and caressing our *Fanaticks* by that unwarrantable and dangerous assertion; that in consequence

\* Pag. 89.

† Pag. 72, 73.

quence thereof they might reasonably conclude, that when they covenanted against Episcopacy, they had only us'd their own right; and thrown out that, which was a confess'd innovation; in order to the restoring of that, which was their primitive Government. For it does not follow, that because our Church in its infancy and necessity was without Bishops for some Years; that therefore it was reasonable for Subjects, to enter into a *Solemn League and Covenant*, without, and against the consent of their *Monarch*; and to extirpate Episcopacy settled then by Law, and by an old prescription of 1200 Years at least.

3. Precedency being one of the Jewels of the Crown and one of the chief Glories of Princes; and all who treat on that Subject confessing, that the King of *Great-Britain*, as King of *Scotland*, is the most ancient Monarch in *Europe*, the Line of other Kingdoms having been often interrupted, whereas ours never was; it seems a great injury to our Kings, to have their Line shortened, so as thereby to postpone them, to many others; and if this

Author's

Author's Arguments prove any thing, they must prove that our Kings cannot instruct their Antiquity, till *Malcolm* the 3d's Time : and so our Kings will be amongst the last of all *Crowned-Heads*. Nor is it one of the least Arguments, which prevail with us, to hazard all for our *Royal-Line*, that we have been so long Subjects to it, and happy under it : and therefore whoever shortens it, lessens ( though without design ) the influence of our Kings, and endangers the Succession. And since \* *Luddus* owns, that he durst not deny the British Descent from *Brutus*, lest he might thereby wrong the *Majesty* of the English Nation ; I admire, that any of the Subjects of *Great Britain* did not think it a degree of *Lese-Majesty*, to injure and shorten the *Royal-Line* of their Kings.

\* Pag. 2.

4. If this injury had been done to Kings, or to a Nation, when they were Enemies to *Episcopacy*, as the Obligation was, so the fault had been less. But to inveigh against our *Royal-Line*, after King *James* had made the settlement of *Episcopacy* his



his business ; King *Charles* had died for it ; and our late Sovereign of Glorious Memory, had been more disquieted by the Schismatical opposition made to it, than by all his other concerns, seems very unkind. And tho this learned and worthy *Author*, upon design to make us sit down quietly under these Injuries, seems to gratifie us, by the Complement, " That we, since the Writing of our " Histories, needed not such helps, " as old and fabulous Romances : " telling us, that we have excell'd " most other Nations, in Arts, and " Arms ; and especially in the Purity " of Religion, abating only the blemish, which we have contracted " by too easie a belief of these Fictions, which he designs to Refute. Yet, since no Peer in *England*, though a Subject, would have allow'd this Author to tell him, that albeit, he be now a brave and generous Person ; his Predecessors were lately pilfering barbarous Robbers and Vagabonds ; and the History of his Family a fabulous Romance. How should he have imagin'd, that our Kings and Nation

on

on (how gentle soever) would have thought, that the Justice done them in this Age (and for which we thank the Bishop of *St. Asaph*) should have compens'd the Injuries done to their Predecessors ?

But it is probable, that my Lord *St. Asaph* has not, on the one hand, known the Grounds which we here urge for our Antiquity, and that our nice Jealousie for our Honour, on the other hand, magnifies too much to us such injuries, of which we are naturally very sensible : and therefore, I hope, by his Lordship's acquiescence, the result of the Debate will be, that he will see that our *Royal-Line* and *Nation* are more ancient than he imagined them to have been : and that we will remain convinc'd, that his Book was not dictated by malice, and National Humour.

My Design is not to convince my Readers, that I am Learn'd, but that my Cause is just : and therefore I use no more Citations, even from the Books I know, than may prove or illustrate my Positions.

And,

( 13 )

And , not being the first aggressor, I expect the favour which is due to Self-defence : For of all things, I hate unnecessary Debates; and I admire St. Paul, for saying,  
*\* And they neither found me in the \* Acts 24. 12.*  
*Temple disputing with any Man.* Debates generally starve Charity, feed Self-love, and incline even very good Men to more partiality, than I hope can be charg'd in this Debate, upon

Your Lordship's most

faithful and humble

Servant,

*Geo. Mackenzie.*

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*King*

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*King CHARLES the 1<sup>st</sup>  
his Speech to the Scottish  
Parliament at Edin-  
burgh, Aug. 19. 1641.*

**I** Cannot doubt of such real  
Testimonies of your Affe-  
ctions, for the maintenance of  
that Royal Power which I en-  
joy, after 108 Descents, and  
which you profess to maintain,  
and to which your National  
Oath doth oblige you, &c.

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A  
Defence of the Antiquity  
OF THE

Royal-Line

OF  
SCOTLAND,

With a true Account, when the  
Scots were govern'd by Kings  
in the Isle of Britain.

*In Answer to the Bishop of St. Asaph.*



ALL the Historians of  
Scotland unanimously  
agreeing, that the  
Royal-Line of the  
Kings of Scotland did  
begin in King Fergus  
the First: and that the Scots now  
inhabiting it, were settled here, un-  
der

der one *Sovereign*, about 330 years before *Christ*. And their Histories being receiv'd with great applause for many hundreds of years, by *Historians*, *Antiquaries*, and *Criticks* of other Nations, who had any occasion to take notice of our Affairs; *Luddus* affecting Singularity, did, *Anno* 1572, controvert both these Points: for which, he having been refuted with just severity by *Buchanan*; the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph*, upon pretext of answering a very silly an inconsequential Argument against *Episcopacy*, has undertaken the Defence of *Luddus* his Kinsman, contending, that the *Scots* did not settle in *Britain* till the year of our *Lord* 503, and that they had no *King*, who govern'd in this Island till that time.

Albeit there be other unwarrantable assertions and positions in that Book, yet being unwilling to enter upon any Argument, which may, by the remotest Consequence, be urg'd against that *Episcopacy*, which I so much reverence; I, as his *Majesties Advocate*, design only to prove, that in both these Points the *Bishop* has

has (though I hope without design)  
injur'd our *Kings* and *Nation*. For  
proving whereof,

*The first thing I shall clear, shall be,  
That History requires, nor admits no  
Mathematical, nor Legal Proof, but  
is satisfied with such Moral Certainty,  
as is infer'd from probable Tradition,  
old Manuscripts, credible Historians,  
the Testimony of Foreign Authors, and  
probable Reasons.*

*Secondly ; That our Histories be-  
ing already acquiesced in, and received  
by the generality of Mankind, and espe-  
cially by Criticks, Antiquaries, and  
Historians, the best Judges in such  
cases, need no Confirmation, nor fur-  
ther Proof.*

*Thirdly ; That albeit we are not ob-  
liged to prove, or confirm our History,  
yet we are able to do it by all the  
former Grounds, which is all that  
needs be done for the Credit of any  
History.*

*Fourthly ; I shall answer the Ar-  
guments brought by the Bishop against  
our Histories. And I must intreat my  
Readers to lay all these together, and  
not to judg by parcels, which is not*

to be done, especially in cases of this nature.

SECT. I.  
What Proofs  
are necessary  
in History.

For clearing the first of these Points, it is fit to consider, that right Reason requires only in all cases, such Proofs, as the nature of the Subject can allow: and therefore, though *Mathematicians* rest only upon infallible Demonstrations; and the *Law* requires strict and solemn Proofs; Yet the *Law* it self remits its ordinary Exactness, to comply with the necessity of Human Affairs, allowing Domestick Witnesses, where others cannot be had, and strong presumptive Grounds as equal to Witnesses, where the Subject Matter can admit of no other Proofs: *Morality* convinces by probable Reasons, and *History* allows Moral Certainty for a sufficient Probation in matters of Fact, because the matters treated of in it, can generally admit no exacter Proofs: Which Proposition as to History, will very easily appear, if we consider, that even the Historians of this present Age, cannot themselves see every thing they relate; nor can all be prov'd



prov'd by the Testimony of Witnesses. Reason likewise has oblig'd Men to presume, that a Nation ought as much to be believ'd in these cases, as two Witnesses are in any single one : for even in the case of Witnesses, our belief is founded upon the presumption, that they will not lie, and damn themselves ; and that both the one, and the other, do at last resolve in presumptive and probable Grounds : So that Men satisfy themselves in most things, with the general Belief and Tradition of those among whom they live, founded upon probable Reasons. Manuscripts also written by others, infer no Mathematical nor Legal Certainty : For the Author of the Manuscript might have been mistaken, or byas'd ; and at best, one Witness proves not. Nor are Strangers oblig'd to believe the exactest *History* of those who write in favour of the Antiquity of their own Nation, upon any other account, than because *History* is satisfy'd with probable Grounds. Domestick Testimonies infer only a probable Belief ; and tho an Oath were interpos'd,

pos'd, that could creat no more than a moral Certainty.

As the former Proposition is founded upon just Reason, so all *Historians* have been believ'd, and the *Histories* of all Nations have been receiv'd upon probable Grounds and Warrants, though they were not written by those who saw and heard what they wrote. Amongst many Instances of which, I shall only name that of the *Romans*, written

\* *Rare per eadem tempora littere fuisse una custodia fidelis memorie rerum gestarum: & quod etiam si quæ in commentariis Pontificum, aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe plerique perire.*

† *Vossius de Hist. Lat. lib. 1. cap. 44. & lib. 2.*

by \* *Livius*; In which Commonwealth, he tells us that *the use of Letters was not then ordinary*, and that *the best Records were the faithful Remembrance of things past; and if some few Memorials were left by the Priests in succeeding Ages, they perish'd at the burning of the Town.* And no History was collected till the year 485, after the building of *Rome*, *Fabius Pictor*, their first *Historian*, writing in that Year, as † *Vossius* informs us. The *Jewish History* also had no Historical Warrant for the first 2000 years, but Tradition, and after that time, their Transactions were mention'd in very few *Foreign Histories*: And the Annals of their

their own *Priests* were thought good Historical Foundations, in the opinion of \* *Josephus*, even for the Sacred History. I need not mention the Histories of the *Greeks*, who could have no Records for many hundreds of years before they wrote; and much less those of the *French*, and *Spaniards*, whose Histories might much more justly be questioned upon the Grounds that ours are.

\* *Lib. 1. against Appion.*

The surest Foundation then of all Histories, is the common belief and consent of the Natives: For Strangers cannot know but from them, and this consent and belief may be founded upon credible Tradition, Manuscripts, Domestick Witnesses, but especially when these are fortified by the concurring Testimonies of Foreign Authors, probable Reasons, and the acquiescence of Mankind. And tho less accepted for fortifying an Ancient, than Modern History, and that even a part of these would be sufficient to confirm a Modern one; yet I hope to make them all concur for supporting ours, tho very ancient.

It would appear then by this, that as the *Bishop* of *St. Asaph* has undertaken to defame our History without any necessity, so he does it without any shadow of Reason: and we will at least have the satisfaction to see our Histories subsist as long as any Histories can do.

I conceive also, that in Reason, Historians already receiv'd in the World with Applause, need not show their Warrants whereupon they proceed; No more than a Man that is in possession needs prove or confirm his Right, except the same be prov'd to be false, or a clearer, or stronger Right be produced by him who challenges the former. Nor are Men curious to preserve old Manuscripts and Records, after they have form'd their Histories by them: for else no Historian could ever be secure, if the not being able to show their Warrants, after many Ages, might discredit their History. And I desire to know, where are these few Historians, whom *Hærodotus*, *Livius*, and others do cite in their Histories? Or, these whom *Josephus* did cite to confirm that of the

the Jews, when it was challeng'd by *Appion* the *Grammarian*, upon the same grounds that ours is now quarrell'd by the Bishop of *St. Asaph*? And albeit the authority of a single Historian, might be suspected after his History is written, and that then his Warrants might be call'd for; especially if other Manuscripts could be found, written in the time controverted, by which that History might be contradicted: Or if the History controverted did report things inconsistent with the whole Tract of other Historians, or the Principles of common Sense and Reason, as *Jeffrey* of *Monmouth*, and some *British* Historians do, in the opinion of the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and their own best *Critiques*. Yet, this cannot at all be extended to our case, who have many Histories written by Men of great Reputation, all agreeing very well with one another, and relating things probable in themselves, and very agreeable to Foreign Histories, and which they declare, they did draw from Warrants cited by them, and which have for many Years, been  
read

read with great pleasure, and cited with great honour by *Critiques, Antiquaries, and Historians*, and contradicted by the authority of no positive History or Manuscript, written by any in the Ages controverted, asserting, that the *Scotish Nation* now inhabiting this Isle, did first plant themselves here, about such a year of God, under such a King, or adducing some such solid Ground against us; all that is objected against our positive and applauded Histories, being the vain scruples of an obscure Author, *Luddus*, who being confuted by *Buchanan*, made no more noise in the World, till

\* *Brittann.* \* *Cambden* rais'd some Conjectures with submission to us, after which Learned † Bishop *Usher* (picqu'd by *Dempster's* Severity, to his Uncle  
*cap. Scoti passim, but especially Pag. 242.* These are the Points, I say, which I would wish the *Scotish Men* diligently to think upon; but let them remember, that in the mean time, I have affirm'd nothing, but only given an inkling of certain things, which may seem in some sort material, whence if the Original of the *Scots* have received no Light, let them seek it elsewhere; and I have in vain searched, but with that circumspect care, that I hope I have not given the least offence to any whatsoever. † *Præfat. de primord. Eccl. Brit. In nostra autem ex omni Scriptorum genere promiscue congesta farragine, si quis obscuriorum Authorum citata mirabitur testimonia; Cogitare illum velim, aliud esse Historiam scribere aliud materiam hinc inde convehere, unde delectu adhibito, &c.*

*Stani-*

*Staniburst* ) gathered together, an undigested, and formless lump of all Writers, good and bad, from which, he says, that Discretion being us'd, a History might be form'd. And from these, the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, impatient of *Buchannan's* severity to *Luddus*, under the pretext of respect to *Episcopacy*, has drawn a new Model, without bringing new Materials, putting that confus'd Rabble in Rank and File, with some pleasant Reflections.

I might then forbear to trouble my self any further, than in answering those few, and ill-founded Objections, muster'd up by the Bishop against us, which being remov'd, leave our History in its former lustre and splendor. But for serving my King and Country, and satisfying my Reader more entirely, I am resolv'd to clear, that our Historians have proceeded upon sufficient Warrants, according to the former uncontrovertible Propositions, which I at first laid down in relation to History in general. And this I will endeavour to do, 1. By shewing

SECT. 2.  
What Proofs  
we can adduce  
for our History,  
and first of  
our Tradition.

ing that our Tradition is very well founded. 2. By shewing, that we had ancient Annals, and that our Historians were Men of great Reputation, and that they founded their Histories on those ancient Annals. 3. That the best Historians among the *Britains*, do concur to assert our Antiquity ; and that such as oppose it, are Men of so little authority, as that their Testimony should not be put in the Ballance with those who stand for us. 4. That our Histories are confirm'd by the authority of ancient Foreign Authors. 5. That our Histories have been believ'd and applauded by the best of late *Historians*, *Critiques*, and *Antiquaries*, the best Judges in such cases. 6. That the antiquity of our History is founded upon solid Reason, and great Probability as well as upon the Testimony of Authors, both within and without the Isle : Which is all that can be done, or is requisite for asserting and proving the Truth of any History.

For clearing whereof I must inform my Reader, that whilst this Isle was Pagan, it had for its Priests, the



the *Druids*, who taught them Sciences, and Letters, and who were so famous, That \* *Cæsar* tells us, That the *Gauls deriv'd their first Learning from them*. And all Histories acknowledge, That these us'd to transmit the Histories of their own times in Verses, which were taught by them to their Scholars: and it is probable, that some of these *Druids* having been converted from the *Pagan Religion*, whereof they were the Priests, became our first *Monks*; being thereto much inclin'd by the severity of their former Discipline: as the *Therapeutæ* did for the same Reason become the first *Anchorits* in *Egypt*; and so it was easie for them to inform the Monasteries of what they knew so well. And this Hint is confirm'd by a very clear passage in *Leslies* Preface to his History, who being a Bishop himself, should be believ'd by another of the same Character in a probable matter of Fact. Nor can there be a clearer Confirmation of our having had the *Druids* amongst us, than that in several places of the *Irish Version* of the *New Testament*, the *wise Men*, or *Priests*,

\* *Disciplina in Britannia Reperta, atq; inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur*:

*Cæf. Bell. Gall. Lib. 6.*

*multa de eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine de rerum natura, de Deorum immortalium vi & potestate disputant & juventute tradunt. Ibid.*

*Cum in publicis rationibus & privatis, Græcis literis utantur. Ibid. By*

*publica rationes, are probably meant their Histories, at least it is most reasonable to think, that since they had the use of Letters, they would have written Histories, or some short Memorials.*

*Priests*, are translated *Druids* : and so, where the *English* Translation saith, That *the Wise Men from the East came to worship our Saviour* : Our *Irish* Translation has the *Druids*, &c. Our Predecessors also being descended from the *Spanish Gallicks*, or *Galicians*, as is acknowledg'd by Historians ; and they having had the use of Letters, and of Grammar, long before this time, as \* *Strabo* confesses, it cannot be imagined, but that we as a Colony of them, would have likewise a part of their Art and Learning. Our Predecessors also had their *Sanachies* and *Bards* ; The first whereof were the Historians, and the latter the Poets of their Traditions, as *Luddus* himself acknowledges, and by either of these means, the Memory of our *Kings* and their Actions, might have been preserv'd until the 5th Century ; at which time we got Monasteries ; in which ( as I shall hereafter prove ) were written and preserv'd the *Annals* of our Nation. And since nothing but great Improbabilities, and fundamental Inconsistencies, should be allow'd to refute

\* Pag. 96. Edit. Casaubon.

a History already receiv'd. I shall offer these Considerations for clearing, that this way of preserving the Memory of our Kings, is as probable a mean as any can be in History.

1. It is probable that our Nation, as all the rest of Mankind, who are warlike, and in constant action, would be desirous to preserve the memory of those Actions, for which they had hazarded their Lives, and by which they design'd to preserve that Fame, which they prefer'd to Life it self: And that the Kings likewise, whose Authority and Right was much reverenc'd for its Antiquity, would be as careful to preserve those Marks of their ancient Dominion.

2. We do not in this serious Debate, pretend to such ancient Originations, and Descents, as might through Vanity tempt Men to lie, as those do, who endeavour to derive themselves from the *Trojans*. All that we pretend to in this Debate, being only, that we are a Colony, who probably came first from *Greece* to *Spain*, but settled certain-

certainly in *Ireland* for some time: and that we came from them, after the time, in which *Cambden*, and *Usher* acknowledge that the Nation of the *Scots* ( whose Name we only now bear ) were long settled there. Would not our Accusers have us trust the *British* Antiquities for 2500 years? and the *Irish* for a longer time than our own, without any written History, or Manuscript now extant before *Gilda's* time? And tho *Lycurgus* would not suffer his Laws to be written, yet they were preserv'd in the Memories of Men, for more than 600 Years, as *Plutarch* observes; and we and other Nations have preserv'd some Laws for much longer time, without the help of writing. And the only Points here controverted, being the first Settlement of our Nation, and that we continue Subjects to the same race of Kings; these are matters so remarkable, that most Nations know when such Changes happened to one another. As for instance, tho there were no History yet extant, we should easily have known that the *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans* conquer'd

quer'd the *Britons*, and alter'd the Race of their Kings. That *Ireland* had many little Monarchs, till they were swallow'd up by *Henry* the 2d of *England*. And that *Edward Bruce*, Brother to our glorious King *Robert* the first, was chosen King of *Ireland*, with universal Consent there, and might have continued in that Government, if from too great a love to Fame, and to gain a Victory without his Brother, he had not lost it, and himself. And though all these controverted Points, fell out in a time after the use of Letters was known to most Nations, and particularly to the *Druids* and *Romans*, the one whereof were our Priests, and the other our Neighbours very long, yet there remains not the least vestige of a doubt, that our Scepter was ever sway'd by any other Race.

3. Though we had wanted the use of Letters, as most probably we did not; Yet the Tradition controverted, is at most of about 800 years. For, after that time, it shall be proved, that we had Records and Annals: And the things said of our Kings, during that time, are so few,

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and so remarkable, that Men might have taught the same to their Children in a weeks time : And Men lived so long at that time, that ten or twelve Men might have transmitted the Tradition to one another. *As* also, since private Families do preserve to this day their Tradition, for as long time as this ; it was much more easy for a Nation, and their Kings, to preserve theirs. Nor can I tell why my Lord *St. Asaph*, in his Preface, can controvert our Tradition, though we could not produce Writers who lived in those Times, wherein these *Actions* are said to be done : since \* he thinks *it reasonable to judge that there was the same Government here in Britain, though for want of Ancient Writings, there could be produced no plain Instances of it.* And if this be allowed to *Episcopacy* in these times, why should he not have allow'd the same favour to his Monarch's Predecessors, in the same and more ancient Ages.

\* Pag. 71.

4. It was much easier for us to preserve our Traditions, than for the *English*, we being all descended from the same Race, and being still the same

same People, living under the uninterrupted succession of the same *Royal-Line*; Whereas they were oblig'd to suppress the Traditions and Memorials of the People whom they had conquer'd.

5. As no Man is presum'd to lie, or cheat, without some great Temptation; so the most glorious things that are said of us, are true beyond debate. As our having defended the Ground in which we settled, against all opposition to this very day: Our having put the first stop to the *Roman* Greatness; our having beat the far more numerous *Britans*, though defended by strong Walls, and stronger *Romans*: All which cannot be deny'd to have been done by us, and are equally noble, whether we were settled here or not, when we did them. After those controverted Times, it cannot be deny'd, that we carried our Conquests further into *Britain* than formerly: That we fought long with success against the *Saxons* and *Picts*, and did at last extirpate the latter: And when we were alone, we continued, and extended our former Con-

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quests

quests against the *Danes* and *Normans* ; which proves also, that in the Wars which we had against the *Romans* in conjunction with the *Picts*, the Victories we then got, are chiefly to be ascrib'd to us. And to crown all, we have generously contributed all that was in our power, to support that Ancient and Royal Family (so unparallel'd for its antiquity ) by which we were animated, and instructed to do all those great Actions, till they are now become the Monarchs of the whole Isle ; having by a happier way extinguished those Wars and Animosities, and may he be unhappy who revives them.

For clearing how this Tradition might have been, and was preserv'd ; Our History tells us of a probable way among many others, which was, That at the Coronation of our Kings, one appeared and recited his whole Genealogy. I shall trouble my Reader only with a proof of this Custom, which is such as confirms also the Genealogy of King *Alexander* the 3<sup>d</sup>, in the year 1249, prior to *Fordon's* time, or to the view of  
of



of any such Debate, and is related by *Fordon* and *Major* in the Life of that King; and being so memorable a Fact, and so near *Fordon's* own time, his Relation cannot but be credited. His words are, That the King being plac'd in the Marble-Chair, the Crown upon his Head, and the Scepter in his Hand, and the Nobility being set below Him, a Venerable old High-landed Gentleman steps out, and bowing the Knee, express'd himself to the King in the High-land Language thus; God bless you King Alexander, Son of Alexander, Son of William, &c. And so carried up the Genealogy to *Fergus* the First: Which Custom was most solemnly us'd at the Coronation of King *Charles* the Martyr, at which time their Pictures were expos'd, and noblest Actions recited.

As also the reciting of their Genealogy was usual at the Burial of ours Kings, a written Proof of which Tradition, is to be seen in a Manuscript of *Baldredus Abbas Rynalis*; ( for that which is the Abbacy of *Melros*, was so called before King *David's* time, who designs

them so in the Foundations of the Lands of *Melros*, which he gives to them ) and is related *verbatim* by *Fordon*, consisting of eighteen Chapters, mentioning the memorable Actions of King *David*, upon whom the Lamentation is made, who died 1151 ; and running up the Genealogy of the said St. *David* to *Fergus* the First, dedicated to *Henry* Prince of *England*, Grand Nephew to St. *David*, who came to the Crown of *England*, Anno 1154, under the name of *Henry* the Second: In both which at least *Fordon* is to be believ'd, having sufficient Vouchers, This also being ordinary in our High-land Families to this very day, not only at Burials, but Baptisms and Marriages ; and in which Families, Men continue still to be design'd from their Fathers, Grandfathers, and very many Generations upwards ; as is a sufficient Historical Proof of Tradition, tho we had no other Warrant for those few Ages.

SECT. 3.  
Proofs from  
Manuscripts  
and Records.

Before I come to clear that we had Manuscripts and Records, it is fit to consider that is very probable,

ble, that as the History of most Nations was preserv'd by their Priests and Church-men: so ours would be very ready to oblige the Kings, under whom, and the People among whom they liv'd, by writing their Annals. And therefore we may reasonably conclude, that since we were very early Christians, we had therefore ancient Histories written by our Church-men, besides those which we may pretend to have been transmitted to them by the *Druids*. And the Bishop himself acknowledges that the Monastery of *Hy*, call'd by us *Icolm-kill*, ( that is *Hy*, the Cell of *Columba* ) was founded about the year 560; and it is undeniable, that 48 of our old Kings were buried, and our Records were kept there since its Foundation, until the Reign of *Malcolm Canmore*: and it is also certain, that our Annals were written in our Monasteries, such as *Scoon*, *Pasley*, *Plushcardin*, and *Lindesfern* \* govern'd by three *Scottish Bishops*, *Aidan*, *Finan*, and *Colman*; and *Abercorn*, mention'd by † *Beda*; and *Melrofs*, the † *Lib. 4. cap. 25.* Chronicle whereof begins where

*Beda* ends, as their History now printed shews: though certainly that *English* Manuscript is very unfaithful, for most of the things relating to our Nation are omitted, as particularly about the beginning, in the year 844. Our Manuscript observes (which the *English* has not) That *Alpin King of the Scots* died, to whom succeeded his Son *Kenneth*, who beat the *Picts*, and was declared first King of all Scotland, to the *Water of Tine*; and after it expresses in his Epitaph,

*Primus in Albania fertur Regnasse  
Kenedhus  
Filius Alpini, praelia multa gerens.*

And it observes that he was called the first King of Albany, not because he was the first who made the *Scotish* Laws, but because he was the first King of all Scotland. And each of our Monasteries had two Books, the one call'd their *Register*, or *Chartulary*, containing the Records relating to their private securities; and another call'd their *Black-book*, containing an account of the memorable

rable things which occur'd in every Year. And as it is strongly presumable, that our Historians would have compil'd our Histories from those: So this being a matter of Fact, is probable by Witnesses: and I thus prove it in such a way and manner as is sufficient to maintain any History. *Verimundus* a Spaniard, Arch-deacon of St. Andrews, in Anno 1076, (as is remarked by \* Chambers of Ormond) declares in \* Pag. 229. the Epistle to his Book of the Historians of Scotland, dedicated to King Malcolm, call'd Can-more; That, albeit there are many things in the said Histories, which may seem to the Readers to be a little difficult to be believed, because they are not totally confirmed by Foreign Historians: Yet after have they heard how the Scots were settled in the North Part of the Isle of Albion, separated by the Sea from the firm Land, and so seldom troubled by Strangers, to whom they give no occasions to write their Actions; and also that they have not been less happy in having almost always among them the Druids, Religious People, and diligent Chroniclers, before the Reception  
of

of the Christian Faith, and continually since Monks, faithful Historians in the Isles of Man, and Icomkill; where they kept\* securely their Monuments and Antiquities, without giving a sight, or Copy of them to strangers; they will cease to wonder. This Chambers was a Learned Man, and a Lord of Session, who wrote anno 1572, and in his \* Preface, says, That he had those principal Authors, Verimund a Spaniard, Turgot Bishop of St. Andrews, John Swenton, John Campbel, and Bishop Elphinstoun, &c. and many great Histories of the Abbacies of Scoon, called the Black-book, and of other like Chronicles of Abbacies, as that of Inch-corm, and Icolmkill, the most part whereof he took pains to consider as much as was possible for him. He \* cites Verimund for an account of the Scots and Picts, and after he also † cites him for the Miracle of St. Andrews in Hungus's time; and he \* gives an account of the tenor of the League betwixt Charles the Great, and Achaius, and asserts that the same was extracted out of the Registers and Books he mention'd, and particularly, out of the second Book of Verimund.

Sir

\* Pag. 13.

\* Pag. 24.

† Pag. 94.

\* Pag. 93, &  
95.

Sir *Richard Baker* cites this *Verimund*, among the Authors out of whom he compiled his History ; and with him he cites *Joannes Campbellus*, who ( he says ) wrote the History of the *Scots* from the Origine of the Nation till the Year 1260, in which he liv'd : And also *Turgot*, who ( he says ) wrote our Annals from the beginning till the Year 1098, in which he liv'd, ( and him likewise *Hollinshead* cites ) ; as also *Aluredus Rivalensis*, who wrote the History of King *David*, and died Anno 1166 ; and *Bartholomeus Anglicus*, who wrote a Chronicle of the *Scots*, and liv'd in the Year 1360. Two of which three last, we have reason to think were *Scots-men*, and have been called *English-men*, only because they liv'd in the Counties which now belong to *England*, but then certainly belong'd to us ; and if they be *English-men*, they are yet the more credible Witnesses for us. And as the worthy *Baker* says, he compil'd his History out of these Books, which he neither would nor could have said, if he had not seen them : So it is very probable that he did see them ; our Records  
and

and Manuscripts having been industriously carry'd to *England* by *Edward* the First, as shall be hereafter observ'd: Nor can it be answer'd, that he cited them at second-hand from *Boeth*, or *Buchannan*, for else he had cited the other Authors whom they cite, such as *Richardus de sancto victore*, *Fordon*, *Major*, &c. All this doth evidently demonstrate that we had such Historians as *Verimund*, and the others above-cited, who asserted before *Fordon* what he has related: so that it was most unwarrantable to say, that these things were dream'd by *Fordon* and *Boethius*, but that *Verimund* was seen and consider'd by others; and cited in a particular part of his Book, which could not be copied from *Boethius*, because he doth not cite *Verimund* for all those Transactions; and upon this

\* *Balaus*, a Learn'd English-man, hath rested. And † *Holinshed* says, that *Verimund* wrote a Book, *De Regibus Scotorum*. Nor can it be deny'd that *Gesner* in verbo *Verimund*, and other famous Strangers, cite him as one who has written our History *ab exordio Scoticae gentis, usque ad Malcolm*

\* Part Post.

† Pag. 100, &  
pag. 460.



*colari tempora.* And it is incredible to think so good and grave a Man as *Boetius* could have been so impudent to assert in \* his Dedication to King *James* the 5th, *That these Books were sent to him by the Earl of Argile, and his Brother the Thesaurer from Icolmkill, and that, he had follow'd them in writing his History:* Especially since he is by *Erasmus* that great Critick, admir'd as a most Learned Man, they having studied together at Paris, where he remembers that he was in great esteem. And in a Letter concerning him, Anno 1530, inserted in the Life of *Erasmus*, he remarks, that *Boethius* was a Person who could not lie. How can it then be imagined, that he would have adventur'd to have printed a whole Romance, and have told his King and the World, that he had the Manuscripts by him? Nor is this asserted only by *Boethius*, and our own Historians, but by *Paulus Jovius*, a very famous Foreign Historian, who in his Description of Scotland, says, \* That in *Jona*

\* Et Lib. 7.

*Asservantur in arcanis templi antiquissimorum Annalium Codices atq; item latae membrane, ipsorum Regum subscriptae manibus aureisq; vel cereis sigillorum imaginibus obsignatae; quibus antiqua leges edictaq; & finium ac Civitatum Jura publica continentur.*

(which

( which we call *Icolmkill* ) are kept the ancient *Annals* and *Manuscripts* in hidden *Presses* of the Church, and large *Parchments* assigned by the King's own hands, and seal'd either with *Seals* of Gold, or Wax. By which also it appears how nice we have been in securing the Faith of our History, the *Seals* of our Kings being put to what was written by our devout Church-men. And whereas the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, to lessen the Credit of *Boethius* \*, relates, that *Bishop Gavin Dowglas* advised *Polidor Virgil* not to follow his History. *Polidor Virgil* himself is appeal'd to, where there is no mention of *Boethius* at all, nor could it be ; for *Polidor* regrates that *Gavin Dowglas* died *Anno* 1520, whereas *Boethius* was not publish'd till 1526, and † *Boethius* himself informs us, That the *Records* from which he form'd his History, were sent him from *Icolmkill* *Anno* 1525, and no sooner ; neither did he see those *Warrants* from which he wrote his History, till that Year. And it appears by that passage, that *Gavin Dowglas* believ'd our account, and produc'd a Manuscript

\* *Pag.* 38.  
*Pres.*

† *Lib.* 7.

script for it, which I now cite, and use as an accessory Argument, and prove it by the Bishop of St. *Asaph*, and *Polidor* : and whereas the Bishop of St. *Asaph* pretends that the *Relation given by Gavin Dowglas agreed with Nennius, but contradicted Boethius* ; the contrary is probable by *Polidor's* own Relation of what *Gavin Dowglas* writ to him, which agrees with *Boethius* in every thing relating to our Antiquity. The Bishop of St. *Asaph* is also most unjust to *Boethius*, in alledging that *Vossius* considers him as a *fabulous Author* : For *Vossius* commends him from what *Erasmus* and *Buchannan* say of him, and in the end taxes him only a little for having believ'd too many Miracles, a fault incident to most *Popish Writers* in those times, but to none more than to the Bishop's own obscure Authors, for which, among many other Testimonies, I refer my Reader to them who writ the Preface to the Histories of *Matthew of Westminster*, and to the *Life of King Alfred*, and *Walsingham's History*. It can also be proved by many famous Gentlemen, that

that the *Black Book of Secon*, containing our Histories from the beginning, was among *President Spotswood's Books*, and was given by *Lewis Cant* to *Major General Lambert*, and by him to *Collonel Fairfax*; which Book *King Charles* the first had ransom'd from *Rowe* by a considerable Sum of Money. And it is certain that *Spotswood* had it, and the *Black Book of Pasley*, signed by the hands of three Abbots, when he compil'd his History: Which Book of *Pasley*, together with the famous Book of *Pluscardin*, *Buchanan* says he had, and frequently cites: and that there were such Books is known to the whole Nation. And I my self have seen in the Learned *Sir Robert Sibbald's Library* (to whom this Nation owes very much) a very old Abridgment of the Book of *Pasley* (which Book *Bp Usber* himself also cites) agreeing in every thing with our Histories, and which was extracted *per venerabilem virum Joannem Gibson Canonicum Glasguensem, & Rectorem de Renfrew, Anno 1501*. And two other old Manuscripts, the one called,

called, *Excerpta de Chronicis Scotiae,* & *Scoti-chronico*, which comes to the Reign of King *James* the 2<sup>d</sup>. and belong'd to Doctor *Arbuthnot* Physician to King *James* the 5<sup>th</sup>; and this proves that there were *Chronica* different from *Fordon's*. And the other, *Extracta de Registro prioratus Sancti-Andree*, giving the *Irish* Names of our Kings. As also I have seen a Manuscript written by a Brother of the *minores Observants* of *Jedburgh*, in *Anno* 1533, containing an Abridgment of our History, and whereof Doctor *Sibbald* has another Copy. And there is another old Manuscript written by *Ventonius* yet extant, which *Buchanan* also cites, and follows.

Since the Writing of these Sheets, I have seen a very old Manuscript brought from *Icolmkill*, written by *Carbre. Lifachair*, who liv'd six Centuries before *St. Patrick*, and so about our *Saviours time*; wherein is given a full account of the *Irish* Kings: By which I conclude, that since the *Irish* had Manuscripts then, certainly we must also be allowed to have had them, having greater oc-

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casion of learning Sciences, and writing Histories ; because of our Commerce with the *Romans*, and polite *Britans*. In this Book also there are many Additions by the *Druids* of those times : from which I likewise may confirm that the Priests in our old Monasteries learn'd our Ancient History from the *Druids* who preceded them.

I have seen also an old Genealogy of the Kings of the *Albanian Scots*, agreeing with that mentioned in our History at the Coronation of King *Alexander* the 2d, and which has still been preserv'd as Sacred there.

I have also seen another old Manuscript, wherein the *Dalreudini Albanach* are considered as settled here six Generations before *Eric*, whom *Usher* calls the *Father of our Kings*. I find also in it, that *Angus Tuerteampher* reign'd in *Ireland* five Generations before our *Fergus* the First ; and that in his time the *Irish* and *Albanians* divided, and separated from one another. Which agrees with our Histories, which say, that the *Scots* were in this Country long before King *Fergus* and his Race settled here.  
And

And these our Irish Manuscripts agree in every thing with the above-cited History of *Corbre*, and are in effect Additions to his Book by our old *Sanachies*.

Having thus cleared, that there were sufficient Warrants upon which our Authors might have founded their Histories; I shall in the next place say something of our Historians, and make appear that they deserv'd the credit and applause they mer with, and that they founded their History on those good Warrants, from which *Verimund*, *Boetius*, and *Chambers* are formerly prov'd to have drawn theirs, viz. our ancient Annals and Registers.

*Fordon* was no Monk, as the \* Bi- \* Pag. 26. Pref. shop is pleas'd to call him, and we had no such Monastery as *Fordon*: but he was *venerabilis vir dominus Johannes Fordon Presbyter*, and is called a *Monk* by the Bishop ( who studies still his own conveniency ) to make the World believe he was inclin'd to lie, as the *Monks* are said to have been in that Age; and to shew him interested for the Independency of *Monks* and *Culdees* from *Bishops*.

This Author began at least to write before the Year 1341 ; for, in his Book he speaks of that as a present Year. This Book was so esteem'd, that there were Copies of it in most of our Monasteries, and one of them we have in very old, but in fair Characters, continued by *Arelat* ; another continued by a Reverend Man, *Walter Bowmaker*, Abbot of *Icolmkill*, and found in the custody of one, who had preserv'd several of the Manuscripts of that Monastery : And both these Continuations have drawn out our Histories to the Reign of King *James* the 2d. And it is not to be imagin'd that the Monasteries would have esteem'd it so much ; or that the Abbot of that Monastery, where our chief Annals were kept, would have continued it, if they and he had not known it to agree with their Annals. And *Fordon* cites frequently through his Book *Chronica*, & *alia Chronica*, and *Beda*, and follows him exactly : he cites also *Adamnanus*, who liv'd before the Year 700 ; and *Turgot* Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, who lived anno 1098, and *Alvared*, (who dedicated his Book to  
King



King *Malcom* the 3d, about the year 1057.) He cites also other foreign Authors, such as *Sigisbert*, and *Isidor*, and so has done all that the Bishop requires, and all that the best Historians can do : Neither does he follow *Jeffrey*, but contradicts him, even in the instance of *Bassianus*, as shall be cleared to conviction, in answering the Bishop's Objections. He has in him also *Baldredus* or *Ethelredus*, and the Process before the Pope, containing the Copies of the authentick Letters, Objections, Apologies, and Answers made and sign'd by *Edward* I. and his Parliament, and the *Scotish Nobility*, produc'd before the Pope, about the year 1300, whereof the Copies are not only extant from *Fordon*, but the Bishop also insinuates that the Originals themselves are extant in *England*, and certainly they were at *Rome*. And *Fordon* cites many other considerable old Records : He writes in a good Stile, and with good Judgment : and the reason why this Work was not printed, was not because it deserv'd not the Press, but because *Boethius*, *Buchannan*, and

*Lesly* having printed their Histories in their own time, and there being no printing in his, it was thought we had Histories enow ; which also occasion'd the perishing of many of our excellent Manuscripts. But why should the Bishop object to us *For-don* his not being printed, since he cites against us Manuscripts never cited by any, and which have been left unprinted in a Country where every thing is printed : and I dare say, after exact perusal of the Bishops Book, and of the Authors cited by him, that *For-don* is preferable to all those old Legends, and most of those Authors which he cites against us, venerable *Beda* only excepted, who is still on our side.

*Joannes Major* was Rector of the famous Divinity-School of *Paris*, and was a Man of such Reputation in that University, as that he is yet remembred with esteem, and a Man of too innocent a life, to have written a Romance for a History ; and he likewise relates to *Beda*, and our Annals. Of *John Major* a full account and Elogium is given by the Learn'd *Launoy Academiæ Parisiensis illustrata*,  
Tom.

Tom. 2. pag. 652, 653. & sequent.

One of the most accurate Writers in this Age \* says, That the talent of writing History hath not been found on this side of the Alps in any, save in Buchanan, who hath written the History of Scotland, better than Livius did that of Rome. The Bishop of Condom also, and the famous Rapiu, in their exact Essays concerning History, have preferr'd none to him, save Mariana the Jesuit, whom all Men know to be far inferior; but they prefer Mariana, because Buchanan was a Protestant. Joseph Scaliger says of Buchanan and Us,

\* Vicfort memoirs des Ambassadeurs.

*Imperii fuerat Romani Scotia limites,*

*Romani Eloquii, Scotia finis erit.*

And \* Mr. Dryden also my Friend, whom I esteem a great Critick, as well as Poet, prefers Buchanan to all the Historians that ever wrote in Britain. And tho I approve as little of Buchanan's Politicks as the Bishop of St. Asaph doth, yet I will not be so unjust to him as he is, \* in saying, That Buchanan in the

\* Pref. new Translat. of Plutarch's Lives.

\* Pag. 30. Pref.

Life of *Fergus* the First, refers to our old Annals, but he cites them not; for there is no such thing in the Life of that King: And he was not so much a favourer of Monarchy, to have allow'd it the advantage of so singular an Antiquity, if he had not found the same due to it, from our Manuscripts and Records, beyond all contradiction.

Bishop *Lesly*, and Arch-bishop *Spotswood* are Men who have written our History with great judgment and truth, and it cannot be imagin'd that they who were indeed banish'd for Loyalty, and suffer'd the loss of all for their Perswasion, would have asserted a whole bundle of Lies, or a continued Romance, as the Author calls our History, especially since they had both seen *Luddus*, and knew that their History would be enquired into. And \* *Lesly* has the confidence

\* *In quibus scribendis ne Historia lex violaretur, ille que prius scripta sunt, non solum exegimus ad ve-*

*ritatem annalium, qui in publico Regni nostri archivo, aliisque antiquissimis codicibus quos majores nostri Passeti, Scone, ac in aliis Monasteriis religiose servarunt, continebantur. Lell. paran. ad nobil. populumque Scot. Pag. 29.*

to tell in his Preface to the Nobility, That his History had been drawn with all the exactness that the truth of Hi-

*story*

story requires from the ancient Records  
 of the Kingdom, and the Monaste-  
 ries, and he was then at Rome, whi-  
 ther they were carried. It is also  
 very pleasant to hear the Bishop of  
 St. Asaph inveigh against Dempster  
 the Jesuit, one of our Antiquaries,  
 whose Book certainly he had never  
 seen, else he would never have call'd  
 him a Jesuit as he \* does. For the  
 very Title of his Book bears that  
 he was *Baro de Muirek*, and a  
 Lawyer, and he was indeed *Pro-*  
*fessor honorarius* of the Civil Law at  
*Bologna* in Italy, and died married,  
 as the History of his Life, writ by  
*Peteraces*, bears: and we may know  
 by the Elogies of the greatest Wits  
 in Italy, how much they esteem'd  
 him for his extraordinary Learning,  
 and Parts. I may add to these, *Da-*  
*vid Camerarius de fortitudine*, &c.  
*Scotorum*, besides *Richardus de sancto*  
*victore*, and *Cornelius Hibernicus*,  
 both which wrote our ancient  
 Histories, the last of them liv'd  
 in the year 1140. And they are  
 both follow'd by *Boethius*, and ci-  
 ted by *Vossius*, *Baleus*, *Sixtus Se-*  
*nenfis*, and others; and also *Adam-*  
*nannus*

\* Pag. 153.

*nanus* that wrote *St. Columba's Life*.

From all which it appears, that our Historians have been Men of great credit and esteem, and have founded their History upon more authentick Documents, than almost any other Historians in the World, *viz.* the Records of many Monasteries in the time when Monasteries were very devout, and upon the universal Tradition of the times, both ancient and modern; and that before there was any competition or controverſie concerning our Antiquity; and that what they have ſaid, has been univerſally believ'd by all the learned World. To which I ſhall add that our Clerk of Registers, *Skeen*, the great Antiquary, had added from thoſe ancient Records a Chronology of our Kings, and which he has inſerted amongſt our Acts of Parliament. Is not then the Biſhop of *St. Aſaph* much to blame, when he would have all this paſs for a Romance, and all thoſe Authors to be reputed only as one? Becauſe, as he ſays, they followed one another from *Fordon*, and he follow'd *Jeffrey*; neither of which is ſo. Tho I confeſs the con-  
tri-

trivance of this untruth was pretty, but happily disappointed, by their asserting that they founded their Histories upon the old Records of our Monasteries, and on *Turgot, Verimund*, and others; all which they had seen, and who are elder than *Erdon*. And it might be as well objected against Witnesses, that they came in and depos'd one after another, giving for the reason of their knowledg, that they had seen what they depos'd.

If all these Manuscripts, which I have cited were extant, I doubt not but the Author himself would acknowledg our Histories to be instructed beyond debate; and therefore if I can instruct them to have once been, they must be reputed as good as extant still. For both Law, and common Reason having consider'd that Papers are very subject to be lost, and to perish; have therefore allow'd, that if it can be prov'd, that there were such Papers, and that they were lost by accident, that this probation shall supply the loss. And I desire to know if the Warrants of *Dr. Burnet's History* of the

the Reformation had been burnt, would not the Bishop of St. *Asaph* have been angry, if his Testimony and Dr. *Stillingsfleet's* had not been sufficient to prove the tenor of them? And what have we for many Authors, whom *Livy*, *Josephus*, and *Herodot* cite besides their own Testimony? And what probation did ever Mankind see stronger, than that which we adduce in this case? For first, that all our Monasteries did write our Annals, is beside common Fame, and universal and late Tradition, which passes over all our Country, prov'd by the other Authorities above cited: If then two ordinary Witnesses be sufficient to prove a matter of Fact, we must much more allow, that this matter may be prov'd by very many Persons, considerable for their Devotion and Quality. 2. There are other Manuscripts yet extant, some whereof I my self have seen, and have formerly nam'd, all agreeing with the tenour of our History, and long prior to *Luddus's* starting of this Debate, in *Anno* 1572. And so must prove sufficient to support  
our



our Histories, and those Witnesses ; especially seeing they have nothing in them contrary to Reason, or other credible Histories ; but on the contrary, are supported by both, and written by Authors of great Integrity and Knowledg, and have been receiv'd with great applause in the World, and are also confirm'd by the *English* Historians themselves. And therefore I must conclude with the Learned *Vossius*, \* *That albeit the* \* *De Hist. Lat.* *old Monuments of Rome perisht, that* *pag. 4.* *therefore the Faith of their History should not perish with them.*

Lest it might be thought that we our selves caus'd to destroy those Records we now cite, to prevent further inquiry, and to shew how much harder it is for us than other Nations, to be call'd to such an account : I shall desire Strangers to be inform'd as a *casus omissiois*, that our ancient Records were destroyed in three remarkable occasions ;

1. When *Edward* the First took away all our Records that he could find, having, as all Historians declare, resolv'd to abolish all memory of our Nation : and of which we

accus'd

accus'd him before the Pope, and he did not deny it. 2. When our Monks flying to *Rome* at the Reformation, carry'd with them their Records. 3. By *Cromwel*, who carry'd our Records into *England*, and many of which were lost at Sea in their return.

SECT. 4.

The other Historians of this Isle cited against us, examined.

\* Orig. Sac. p. 114. Sect. 5.

But if our Historians are to be rejected, I hope it must be by the Authority of far more, and far more credible Authors, agreeable to a Principle of Dr. *Stillingsfleet's*, the Patron of our Bishop's Book, who \* says, *Certainly they who undertake to contradict that which is received by common Consent, must bring stronger and clearer Evidence, than that on which that Consent is grounded, or else their Exceptions ought to be rejected with the highest Indignation.* Which Principle, as it seems to be recommended by Reason, so it is founded upon the express Law of all Nations; by which it is acknowledg'd, that the Testimonies of Witnesses are not to be reprobated but by others in a double number, and who are of far greater Authority. And from

from this Principle it is; that if a Jury of fifteen hath absolv'd a Man unjustly, though that Jury consisted of the meanest Men of the Nation, yet their Verdict cannot be question'd for error, otherways than by twenty five, whereof most part must be Persons of Quality, who must proceed upon most infallible grounds and evidences. By this rule then, our Historians cannot be redargu'd, otherways than by the Testimonies of far more unsuspected Historians, who agree in what they assert against us, and who are receiv'd with greater applause in the World than ours, and proceed upon far stronger Evidences. Let us then examine if these Qualifications can be found in those Historians, by whom the faith of ours is to be overturned. And first, as to the old *British* Historians, it might be objected by us, that they are too much interested, both because the Subject Matter is an emulation for Antiquity between the two Nations, and because they were over-run by our Countrymen at that time to a degree to make them passionate enough for disabling

a Witness: And as it is very remarkable that *Florentius Wigorniensis*, *Malmesburiensis*, *Huntingdonensis*, and *Hoveden* wrote about the Reign of *Henry* the Second; and *Tho. Walsingham*, and *Matthew* of *Westminster*, in the Reigns of *Edward* the Third, and *Henry* the Sixth; at all which times there were Wars and Animosities betwixt the Nations. So if any Man will read the sad Lamentations that are in *Gilda's*, and the rage with which he cries out against us, no Man can allow him to be an unsuspected Judg or Witness in what concerns our Honour. *Polidor Virgil* suspects, \* that there are some things supposititious in the History of *Gildas*; and if any thing, certainly we may suspect most what is added concerning us; since the design of detracting from our History, possess too much those who were Masters of that Manuscript, and printed the same. And yet *Gildas* says very little that can be wrested against us in the Points controverted; being, as *Beda* interprets him, clearly for us, as shall hereafter appear. 2. As our Writers are not infe-

\* Pag. 16.

inferiour in number, so most of theirs deserve no credit, and they agree not so well against us in the Points controverted, as our Authors do in what they assert, *viz. when we settled here, and who were our first Kings*: For \* *Nennius Britannus* does positively say, *that the Scots came here in the time of Brutus*. *Matthew of Westminster* says, *that we settled here the eleventh year after Christ*. And *Baker* \* acknowledgeth that *Severus* built his Wall against the *Scots* and *Picts*, without mentioning this to be the first incursion; and this at least confutes the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, who asserts that we were not come to this Isle even by way of incursion, till after the year 300. As they thus differ remarkably as to our Origination, and most of them follow *Jeffreys* ridiculous Inventions, as our Author himself acknowledges: So \* *Holinshed*, speaking of those ancient times, says, *That Scotland had in those days two Kingdoms, the one whereof consisted of the Picts, called Pictland; and the other of the Irish Race, call'd Scotland: which I hope (says he) no wise Man will readily deny*. And

\* Cap. 3. as  
cited by S. A.  
saph, pag. 14.  
Pref.

\* Pag. 2.

\* Pag. 16.

E

Caix-

Caixton in his old Chronicle of England, tells, that *the King of the Scots assisted Cassibelan King of the Britains against Julius Cæsar*: which shews that our Antiquity was believed. And *Balaus*, a most famous English Chronologist, says, that \* *the Scots wrote, &c. ex incorrupta annalium Fide.* 3. That our settlement was so ancient, as not only to have been contemporary with their Historians, but even to be higher than their Chronology could reach to, appears from this, that *Gildas* declares † *he knew nothing of us, but what he was forc'd to borrow from beyond Sea.* \* *Beda places us amongst the old Inhabitants of this Isle, without condescending upon the particular time, which he had given us, if he had known it himself, as he did in all other occasions. Nennius* their next Author to *Beda* owns, that *the most skillful amongst the Scots, affirm'd in his time, that we were descended from Scotas*, as our Authors now do. \* *And the eldest after him affirm, that we are descended from Albanactus, second Soud to Brutus.* And this is so far acknowledg'd by succeeding Ages,

\* Bal. Pref.  
part post.

† De excid.  
Brit.

\* Cap. 1.  
Beda.

\* St. Asaph,  
P. 10.

Ages, that *Edward the First* did upon that account claim the superiority to England over us, as younger Brother to *Locrinus the eldest Son of Brutus*. And we may see in *Hollinshed*, \* where he brings in many Scottish Kings doing Homage to the Kings of Britain, long before this year 502, and in which several of their Authors agree with him. And the Bishop fore-seeing the unanswerable strength of this Argument, acknowledges this Superiority to be a most unjust Pretension, as indeed it is; especially seeing it is undeniable, that there was any such thing known in the World then, as that *Fendol Homage* which the *English* Historians contend for; there being no Vestige thereof in any part of *Europe*, till the 800 year of God, and we having had no such Kings as some of those whom they name in that ancient Homage. But yet even all these Forgeries prove clearly, that we were consider'd by those Writers, as Inhabitants here past all Memory, and as ancient as themselves. \* *Giraldus Cambrensis* also considers us as descended from *Gathelus and Scots*,

\* Lib. 2. Descript. Britan. cap. 8. & 9.

\* *Girald. Camb. Distinct. 3. cap. 7.*

which proves not only that this old Tradition was believ'd, but that *Fordon* was not the inventer of it. For *Girald* liv'd about 200 years before *Fordon*. But how any Historian in this also can controvert this Antiquity after *Selden* has asserted it, *Lib. 2. cap. 8.* I understand not. There is likewise a very full and well written Manuscript in the hands of the Lord *Maitland*, which makes us to come from Spain, about the year of the World 3242, and to have been first govern'd by Captains, and thereafter govern'd by the Kings mention'd in our History. 4. There are no positive Authorities produc'd against us, condescending expressly when our Royal Line did begin, save three *Legendary Stories* written with design, in whom no Protestant Bishop can find any considerable Passages worthy to be cited; the easiest thing in them be-

\* *Vita St. Pat.* ing, \* *That a Child made a Fire of*  
*Cap. 5.* *Ice*; † and that when *St. Columba*  
 † *Vita Columb.*  
*Adamn. lib. 3.* was sick, his Mare wept.

c. 16. The first is a nameless Author of  
 \* *De Eccl.* *St. Patrick's Life*, cited by \* *Usher*,  
 Brit. primord. who affirms, that when *Neil Neili-*  
 p. 587. *alagh was King of Ireland*, and Con-  
 stan-



*stantius was Emperor, Muredus King of Ulster had six Sons, who possess themselves of the Northern Parts of Britain, and the Nation sprung from them (as Giraldus repeating this passage, says) was by a special name called Scotland. And it may be, saith the Bishop, Renda mention'd by Beda, was one of these six Sons. Joceline, another Author of St. Patrick's Life, tells, that the twelve Sons of the King of Dalriada in Ireland, having despised their youngest Brother Fergus, he complain'd of them to St. Patrick, and he prophesied to him, that from him should descend Kings, who should reign in many Foreign Kingdoms; and accordingly Fergus became King of all Dalriada, and after his Successors had for many Generations reigned there, Aidanus the Son of Gabranus conquer'd Albania, now call'd Scotland, and the other Isles, in which his Posterity by due Succession reign to this day. But an elder Author cited by Cambden (and whom \* Usher calls the writer of the Tigernack Annals) brings the Scottish Kings from another Origine, to which Usher himself is inclin'd. Fergus (says that*

\* Cap. 137.

\* Pag. 160.

Author) the Son of Eric, was the first of the offspring of Chonar, who obtain'd the Kingdom of Albania from Brown-Albain, to the Irish Sea and Inchgall, whom he places Anno 503, and from him the Kings of Fergus's race reign'd in Brun-Albain, or Brun-heir to Alphin the Son of Eochal, and with this (as the Bishop says) the Irish Genealogies agree. And thus our approv'd History must be overturn'd by Legends, and Genealogies.

Upon which passages I beg leave to make these few Reflections. First, that (besides, that these Authors liv'd not within 600 years of the times of which they wrote (which the Bishop of St. Asaph objects to ours) they do also contradict not only our Story, but the Roman, who place us here much sooner). All these three Authors contradict one another in the most remarkable part of our History, and in so late a matter of Fact, as that of Fergus the Second, which shews them neither faithful nor learn'd Chronologists. The first nameless Author, writer of the Life of S. Patrick, makes  
our

our King to have been one of the Sons of Mured, whom *Usher* conjectures to have been *Reuther*, and he must have liv'd in 360 ; for *Constantius* reign'd then, and *Mured's* Son liv'd in his Reign. *Jocelin* makes *Aidan* to be the first, and to have sprung from *Fergus* after many Generations: And this agrees well with ours, but not with the other Writers of *St. Patrick's* Life. For we place the beginning of *Aidan's* Reign in 570, and it could be no sooner, according to *Jocelin*. The third is the Author of the *Tigernack Annals*, or an ancienter Writer cited by *Cambden*, who places our first King in 503, and there he is call'd *Fergus* ; and so they neither agree in the name of our first King, nor in the time of their entry to this Kingdom. Which dreaming Glances have risen from an imperfect notion of our History, the first having borrowed his from *Beda*, who brings us here *sub duce Renda*: the second has been invented to fulfil the Prophecy of *St. Patrick*, who promis'd the Kingdom not to *Fergus* himself, but to one of his Succession, and

therefore finding none of our Kings nam'd in *Beda*, save *Reuther* and *Aidan*; he fixes on *Aidan* as the latest. And the third of these, finding that *Fergus* was uncontrovertedly the name of our first King, will rather contradict the rest, and go back from *Aidan* to *Fergus*. And thus they clench here, making the the first *Fergus* the second, as they do elsewhere, in making *Scotia* to be *Ireland*, or *Scotia major*.

\* De Primord.  
pag. 611.

2. Since the Bishop's Authors are so irreconcilable, what Warrants can he or they have to contradict our positive History? \* And Bishop *Usher* cites another Author of *St. Patrick's Life*, *Meyerus*, who tells us that *after St. Patrick's Voyage about this Isle, he turn'd his Boat to an Isle which bears to this day the name of St. Patrick*; out of which Isle I believe the Accusers of our Historians got their best Intelligence.

3. That this *Reuda* could not be one of *Mureda's* six Sons, is most clear, both because *Beda* speaks of the *Scots* coming to this Isle, as very ancient, even in his time, which could not be if this had happen'd  
in

in *Anno* 360; for *Beda* liv'd in *Anno* 730, and how can it be imagin'd that *Beda* could not have known the whole Series of a Royal Descent that was so recent. Nor do our Historians, whose Faith is not controverted, after *Fergus* the Second, mention any *Renda* after his Reign: and so he behov'd to be an elder King, and consequently we had King's before *Fergus* the Second, which the Authors denies. Nor could any of these Sons of *Mured* have been *Fergus* the Second, whom these late Inventors call our first King; for no Author makes *Fergus* the Second to have reign'd within more than 40 Years after *Constantius*. *Luddus* and *Cambden* assert us to have setl'd here, under *Fergus* the Second, in the Reign of *Honorius*, at which time *Fergus* the Second did reign. *Usher* relates only the three Authorities of those ridiculous Legends; and the Bishop of St. *Asaph* fixes on the year 503, and so contradicts not only our Historians, but \* *Luddus* and † *Cambden* in making *Fergus* the Second near 100 years later, than truly he was.

As

\* Pag. 62.

† Cap. Scoti.

As these few prime and late Authors who controvert our Antiquity, differ thus in the names of our first Kings, and the time of their settlement in *Scotland*; so they differ in these following cardinal Points of their new invented Hypothesis. The Bishop of \* *St. Asaph* thinks it necessary for maintaining that the *Scots* set'd not till the year 503, to assert that *the Picts fill'd all the Northern Parts of Britain, and that those Picts were a ruder sort of Britains, divided in South and North Picts*; in which he follows \* *Cambden*, yet with this difference, implying a contradiction, that *Cambden* makes these *Deucaledones* and *Veduriones*, to signify by a *British* derivation, *Picts*, to the *East and West*: Whereas the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, from a *British* derivation of the same words, calls them *Southern and Northern Picts*. But *Cambden* does acknowledge plainly that in this Derivation, he differs from the venerable *Beda*, whose Authority he truly foretels will weigh down the Reasons he brings for his Conjecture. And as he, contrary to the universally receiv'd opinion, denies the

\* Cap. I.

\* Camb. Cap.  
Pict.

the *Picts* to be *Schythians*, tho they were really so, he makes the *Scots* to be *Schythians*, though really they were not so.

\* *Usher* not having considered all <sup>\* De Primord. cap. 11. init.</sup> the Scheme and Consequences of this new Hypothesis ( as the Bishop of *St. Asaph* has done with more cunning ) follows *Beda* in bringing the *Picts* from *Schythia*, but he differs from *Beda* in that he brings them hither after our Saviour's Birth, and produces such Authors as he uses in our occasions, who assign three different Periods of time for their settlement; the last whereof, and to which he inclines, is said to be under the Emperours *Gratian* and *Valentinian*; and so makes the *Scots* and *Picts* to have come in together about the year 400, and yet he finds no inconveniency in bringing us to *Scotland* under *Gathelus* and *Scota*, and in asserting that we settled first in *Galloway*, whereas none of our Historians do say that *Gathelus* and *Scota* came to *Scotland*, and the Bishop of *St. Asaph* and *Cambden* assert our descent from *Scota* to be a Fiction; and the Bishop of *St.*

\* Cap. 1. St. *Asaph* \* confesses us to have *first*  
*sixt in Argile.*

Another material difference amongst them is, that the Bishop of  
 † Cap. 1. Sect. 12, & 13. St. *Asaph* † confines us and the *Picts*,  
 for 1000 years be-north *Grahams*  
*Dike*, call'd *Severus Wall*, beyond  
*Clyde* and *Forth*. Whereas *Camb-*  
 || Cap. *Pict.* *den* || asserts that *Edinburgh* was the  
 chief Seat of the Kings of the *Picts*,  
 and derives the names of *Louthian*,  
*Edinburgh*, and *Pictland*, from  
*Pictish* words.

From all which it clearly appears,  
 that no weight is to be laid on such  
 irreconcilable Authors ; and yet  
 by these only, is the Antiquity of  
 of our Kings and Nation contro-  
 verted. But to confirm fully our  
 History from *Julius Caesar's* time, and  
 to shew that the *British* Historians  
 do not only contradict one another,  
 but do contradict the two only an-  
 cient Historians, who could under-  
 stand any thing of our Origine, as  
 being the eldest and most deserving  
 of all their own Authors, viz. *Gil-*  
*das* and *Beda* ; I do appeal to them.  
 And I begin with *Beda*, because he  
 is most full, and interprets the other.  
 The



The venerable *Beda*, tho a *Saxon* himself, and so an Enemy to us, having written an exact Chronology, according to the periods of time ; does in his first *cap. de \* priscis incolis*, tell us, that God was praised in five languages in this Isle, that of the English, Britains, Scots, Picts, and Latines : and then proceeds to tell, that the Britains were the first possessors, and possess the south parts, after which came the Picts to the northern parts, and the Scots under *Reuda*, thereafter made a third Nation, in that part belonging to the Picts, getting the western part of Scotland, North from the Picts, called *Dumbriton*, or *Alcluth*. And he inculcates their fixing here, by three several, but concurring Expressions. 1. *Progressi ex Hibernia*, they left Ireland. 2. *Sedes vindicarunt in Britannia*, they settled in Britain. 3. *In Britannia Britonibus & Pictis gentem tertiam addiderunt*, they added a third Nation to the Britains and Picts. And that this was very ancient is clear ; for he fixes them in Britain in that Chapter wherein he treats *de priscis incolis* ; and having thus settled the Scots and Picts in his first

\* *Quinque gentium linguis unam eandemque summam veritatis, & vere sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur, confutetur Anglorum, viz. Britonum, Scotorum, &c. Bed. l. i. cap. i. Eccl. Hist.*

first Chapter with the *Britains* ; he proceeds in the second Chapter to settle the fourth Nation, viz. the *Latines* or *Romans*, beginning with these words, \* *But this Britain was unknown, and not entred upon by the Romans, till Julius Cæsar's time.* And having describ'd the Wars betwixt these three Nations and the *Roman Emperours*, in a due gradation, marking every period of time through the Reign of their consecutive *Emperors* ; and how at last the *Romans* had abandon'd the *Island*, and *Ætius* the *Roman Consul*, had refus'd the Petition of the miserable *Britains*, so often defeated by the *Scots* and *Picts* : he in the 14 *Cap.* relates how the *Britains* upon deep consultation, brought in the *Saxons*, and from thence continues the *Saxon History*. This being the tract of *Beda's History* ; Is there any place to doubt but that the *Scots* were settled before the *Saxons* ? For the Wars betwixt the *Romans* and *Scots* are related exactly before any mention is made of the *Saxons* ; and at last they are only brought in to assist the *Britains* against the *Scots* and *Picts*, because the

\* *Verum eadem Britannia Romanis usque ad Caium Jul. Cæs. inaccessa atque incognita fuit Beda Hist. Eccles. l. 1. cap. 2.*

the *Britains* were deserted by the *Romans*, and consequently the *Saxons* having been brought in *Anno* 449, it unanswerably follows, that the *Scots* were setl'd here, and made a third Nation, long before the 503, as the Bishop of *St. Asaph* alledges, at which time he makes us to have setl'd here very cunningly, but not sincerely, upon design to make us later than the *English*. As also it appears very clearly that the *Scots* setl'd here even before *Julius Caesar's* time, for after *Beda* ( who proceeds exactly according to the Periods of Time ) had setl'd us in *Britain*, he tells, \* that *this Britain was unknown to the Romans*, and describ'd what these *Romans* did in the Isle, and how they fought with the *Picts* and *Us* under their subsequent *Emperors*, without ever speaking again of the entry of the *Scots*, as having setl'd them in the first Chapter, before *Caesar's* time. Nor is the time alter'd in any other Period ; and he is so careful of the Period of time, that he subjoyns to his Work a Chronological Recapitulation, which is very exact. And he being a *Saxon*,  
had

\* *Verum eadem Britannia Romanis usque ad Caium Julius Cæs. inaccessa atque incognita fuit. Beda Ecclæs. Hist. l. 1. cap. 2.*

had certainly told ( as the Bishop now does ) that the *Saxons* were elder than we, if this had been true ; which is a demonstration according to the Rules of Chronology, against the Bishop of St. *Asaph*. It may be some may wonder why *Beda* mentions not our coming under *Fergus* the first ; and some may object, that in this we go higher than *Beda*. To which it is answered, That our History confesses, that the *Scots* came over from *Ireland* at several times : Once under *Fergus* the first, but not being numerous enough, *Renthernus* brought over another recruit, and thereafter *Fergus* the second brought over others after his Predecessor *Eugenius* was expell'd by the *Romans* and *Britains*. And in so old Antiquity, it's much for *Beda*, even to know the Descent under *Renda*. And whereas the Bishop quarrels *Beda*, that he gives no Authority for this : The Reply is, that if it were requisite, then one Author behov'd to give another, and he a third, & sic in infinitum. Nor did ever any Man before him require an Authority in so ancient  
an

an Author : and this Answer is a full proof of the Bishop's Conviction, who being absolutely gravel'd here, he grows as angry at *Beda*, as at our Historians, and tells, disdainfully, that *this might be true for ought Beda knew*, and adds, that the *Scots* were indeed here in *Beda's* time, and he speaks according to his own time, which were to make *Beda* speak great non-sense. For *Beda* speaks here of the *preterit*, and not the *present* time, viz. The first Vastations spoke of by *Gildas*, and we shall see that others, who lived in the time agree with him.

The second Citation I shall bring from *Beda*, shall be from the 5th cap. l. 1. *Eccl. Hist.* where he says, that \* *Severus built a Wall to defend against the other unconquer'd Nations*, and in the 12 cap. he tells that † *Britain was vex'd by the Scots and Picts, two over-Sea, or Transmarine Nations*; and thereafter, as if he had been afraid that this word *Transmarine*, might have been mistaken, he adds, † *Bed. lib. 1. cap. 5. Eccl. Hist. Itaque Severus magnam fossam firmissimumque vallum crebris in super turribus communitum a mari ad mare duxit.*

† *Bed. lib. 1. cap. 12. Eccl. Hist. Denique subito duabus gentibus transmarinis vehementer sævis, Scottorum a circio, Pictorum ab Aquilone multos stupet gemitque per annos.*

F

that

|| *Transmarinas* || that they were not call'd *Transmarine*,  
*autem diuicimus* because they liv'd, and were settled out of  
*has gentes, non* Britain; but because they were separated  
*quod exvraa Bri-* from that part of Britain by the two  
*tanniam. essent* Seas, which did almost meet. And in  
*positæ, sed quia* this he agrees exactly with *Tacitus*,  
*a parte Brito-* who in the Life of *Agricola*, says, that  
*num erant remo-* there being a Wall built betwixt these  
*tæ, duobus fini-* two Seas, the Roman Enemies were clo-  
*bis mari inter-* sed up as in an Isle. By this place of  
*jacentibus, quo-* *Beda* it is also very clear, that the  
*rum unus ab ori-* Scots were settled in Britain whilst  
*entali mari, alter* the Romans fought against the *Picts*  
*ab occidentali,* and Scots, and consequently before  
*Britanniæ terras* they were call'd by the *Picts* to de-  
*longe lateque ir-* fend them against the Saxons, as is  
*rumpit quamvis* alledged by the *Bishop*. If the Scots  
*ad se invicem* had not been living in this Isle at  
*pertinere possunt.* that time, the explication of *Trans-*  
*marine* had been both ridiculous and  
 untrue. And as it is not presumable  
 that the venerable *Beda* would have  
 asserted this, if he had not certainly  
 known it; so it was very easy for  
 him to know it, that being so publick  
 a thing, which concern'd his own,  
 as well as his Neighbour Nation. But  
 if the Scots had settled in anno 503,  
*Beda* could not have call'd them

\* Cap. 1.

\* *Prisci incolæ*, and reckon'd them  
amongst

amongst the ancient Inhabitants. For a Man living in his time, might have told him, that his Father saw the *Scots* call'd over by the *Piſts*, and that they settled here in his time. *Beda* being thus clear to a Demonstration, as far as Chronology and History can allow: I desire to know how what *Gildas* says, can contradict our History, since he copies *Gildas*, and liv'd within 200 years of him? and since both wrote the same Actions in almost the same words? Or how can it be imagin'd, that if *Gildas* had known our Origin to be so late, he would not have told it to our disadvantage? whereas on the contrary, he speaks of *Scots* and *Piſts* as living in this Isle, after the same manner as *Transmarine*, in the same sense, in which *Beda* interprets it; which is, because they liv'd not without the Isle, but on the other side of the Wall, which made an Isle. From which it follows necessarily that in *Gildas*'s time, the *Scots* dwelt not without the Isle of *Britain*; and *Gildas* having been born in *Anno* 493, as is said in the Calculation prefix'd to that

\* [Pag. 120.  
num. edit. Hei-  
delberg.

\* Edition, which himself relates, it is clear that he was born 10 Years before that Year, in which the Bishop of St. *Asaph* pretends we first settled here; and so certainly he could not but have taken notice of the settlement of a Nation, in which he was so much concern'd. And albeit he says once, speaking of us, that *Hiberni revertuntur domum*. Yet that was spoke of us as settl'd here, and as being *Irish* by extraction, as shall be hereafter clear'd. Nor must our Histories which are so positive and unanimous, be overturn'd by Clenches and Equivocations, and remote weak Consequences, without Authors living at the time, and mentioning expressly so remarkable an Accident.

SECT. 5.  
Proofs from  
Foreign Au-  
thors.

Before I enter upon Foreign Citations without the Isle, I must observe, that we having kept the *Romans* (the only writing Nation that had any knowledg of these our Isles) from entering our Kingdom; they could not know our Antiquities, as they did those of *England* or *France*, whom they had conquer'd. But



But our being engag'd in a constant War with them, is so universally related by all their Historians; that to deny our being a Nation, and in *Britain*, when they so frequently and unanimously writ of us, as *Gens, & Gens etiam Britannica*, fighting here, cannot but seem Rallery to any Serious Man: and the being able to controvert it, is rather a mark of nimbleness of Wit, than skill in Antiquity. But however I shall produce some few Foreign Authors, whose Testimonies seem to me unanswerable, being joyn'd with, and illustrated by what I formerly said from the venerable *Beda*, and the Historians within this Isle.

My first Author is *Enmenius* in his *Panegyrick* to *Constantine* in praise of his Father *Constantius*: who preferring the Victory *Constantius* had over the *Britains*, to that which *Julius Cæsar* had over them; says, \* *that* the *Britains* at the time *Cæsar* conquer'd them, were a rude Nation, being only us'd to fight against the *Picts*, and *Irish* of the *British* Country, *Enemies* half naked, and so easily yeilded to the *Roman Arms* and *Ensigns*. By

*Enmenius.*

\* Pag. 258.

which Citation, we contend that it is prov'd, that in the time of *Julius Caesar*, there was another Nation beside the *Picts*, who then inhabited *Britain*, and were a Colony of the *Irish*; and these must certainly have been the *Scots*. For it cannot be pretended, that ever there was another Colony of the *Irish* in *Britain*, besides us. And it is uncontroverted on all hands, that we are that Colony of the *Irish*, who only us'd to fight with the *Picts*, against the *Britains*, and therefore that answer made by the Bishop, that this place relates only to the *Irish*, and not to the *Scots*, is of no moment. But he has another Answer, which his Lordship insists more upon; and for clearing whereof, I must cite the Latin; *Ad hec natio etiam tunc rudis, & soli Britanni Pictis modo, & Hibernis assueta hostibus, adhuc seminudis, facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt.* His Answer is, that the words, *Soli Britanni*, are the Nominative, and not the Genitive, and

\* Pag. 11. his Lordship confesses, \* *that if the words be in the Genitive*, they are clear of *Buchannan's* side. And that they

they are of the Genitive, all disinterested Men, who understand the Latin, will confess. And *Cambden* himself, tho a learned Schoolmaster, and in other Citations about our Antiquity, somewhat more humourous, than so worthy a Man needed to be, trusts to no other Answer, but that the Panegyrist spoke here, according to the Conception of the Age wherein he liv'd. But, as any Citation may be thus answered ; so if he had not spoken with relation to the time of *Julius Caesar*, the Comparison and Complement had no great force. The Learned *Usher* likewise objects not this to *Buchannan*, which shews also his Acquiescence. 2. If this, *Natio Rudis*, had been the same thing with *Soli Britanni*; and if the sence must be, as his Lordship says, a *Rude Nation, the Britains* ; then not only it had been superfluous, but inconsistent with true sence. For how can the same thing be copulated with it-self ? and tho it may be said, *Natio rudis Soli Britanni, assueta hostibus* ; yet certainly *assueti* had been more elegant for an Orator, if *Soli Britanni* had been the Nominative.

\* In not. in  
lib. 4. Tibull.

\* Pag. 11.

And the great \* *Joseph Scaliger*, one of the best Judges both for that kind of Learning and Disinterestedness, exclaims against *Luddus*, for misconstruing so the words; and therefore the Bishop might have spared the saying, \* *that Cambden ought to have given Buchannan correction*; for the great *Joseph Scaliger*, and *Buchannan*, that incomparable *Humanist*, are fitter to give, than receive Correction from any in the Isle, or Age.

I must also observe, that the Bishop has pointed these words otherways than they are in the Author: for in the Author (of *Paulus Stephanus*, and *Plantins* Editions, who were the most learned and exact of all Printers) there is no *Comma* immediately after the words, *Soli Britannii*, and it is pointed as I have set it down here, and even \* *Luddus* is just here. But the Bishop has very wittily added the *Comma* after these words. Now without the *Comma*, it is clear, that the *Panegyrist* meant *Pictis & Hibernis Soli Britannii*; and if the *Panegyrist* had design'd his words should have been construed, as the Bishop has construed

\* Pag. 37.

stru'd them; so great an Orator would certainly have said, *Soli Britannæ Natio ad hoc etiam tunc rudis*, &c. And in this case the words had been clear, and the ingenious Bishop needed not, in translating them, to have been forc'd to use the word \* *Nation* twice, because the sense was hard and unnatural, according to his Construction. And whereas the Bishop pretends, \* that the words construed according to Buchanan, would not have run so strong in the Comparison: for the strength of the Comparison lies, saith he, in that Julius Cæsar's Victory was not so great, as that of Constantius, because Cæsar overcame a Nation, yet rude and unskilful of War, and only Britains, a Nation us'd to no other Enemies but Picts and Irish: Whereas Constantius overcame Carausius, who had got a Roman Legion on his side, &c. But by his Lordship's favour, the Comparison runs strong enough thus, according to Buchanan's Construction. Cæsar overcame the Britains when they were yet a rude Nation, us'd only to fight against the Picts and Irish who liv'd upon the Land, or  
Isle

\* Pag. 12.

\* Pag. *ibid.*

*Isle of Britain: but Constantius overcame them after they had been long train'd up in War. And certainly a Nation is a far more formidable Enemy after their being long train'd up in War, than when yet rude, and unexperienc'd; tho they had had the acceſſion of a Roman Legion; which could ſignify nothing againſt a whole Roman Army. Nor does it follow, that the words muſt be ill conſtrued; if ſo, the Compariſon would be ſtronger: for it is ſufficient to ſuſtain the Conſtruction, that in the Compariſon Constantius was to be preferr'd in the way I have mention'd.*

4. If there were any doubtfulneſs in theſe words, as there is none; yet they ought to be interpreted ſo, as to conſiſt with other Authors and Hiſtories, and eſpecially with *Beda*: for in our ſence, they confirm his Chronological Account, of our being in this Iſle before *Julius Ceſar's* time: And the Biſhop muſt ſtill remember, that he cannot overturn our receiv'd Hiſtories, except he produce Arguments which inſallibly conclude againſt them: It being a Rule in Law, that, *Verba ſemper ſunt in-*

*interpretanda potius, ut scriptura, vel actus subsistat; quam ut destruat.*

This shews also that in *Constantinus's* time, which was about the Year 300, the *Britains* were *assueti*, us'd to fight with the *Scots* and *Picts*: and this use must imply a long time.

And so it's very probable, that we had frequent Wars with the *Britains* long before this time, and consequently the Bishop errs, \* asserting,

*We were not in Britain even by way of incursion, till the year 300.* If it be objected, that in the Phrase *Soli Britanni*, *Britanni* is a Substantive; *Britannici* being still the Adjective; and therefore these words must be construed to be the Nominative Case, as the Bp of *St. Asaph* alledgeth. I prove the contrary by *Lucretius*.

\* Sect. 5, 6.

cap. 1.

*Nam quid Britannum Cælum differre putamus, &c.*

*Claudianus de quarto consulatu Honorii*

*Terribilis Mauro, debellatorq; Britanni Littoris.*

A further Confirmation of this arises from the same *Eumenius*, in this

this same *Panegyrick* ; where speaking of *Constantinus's* Victory over this Island, he saith, *Neq; enim ille, tot tantisq; rebus gestis, non dico Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum silvas & paludes, sed nec Hiberniam proximam, nec Thulen ultimam, nec ipse si quæ sunt, fortunatarum Insulas, dignabitur acquirere.* And tho *Usher* foreseeing the force of this Argument, endeavours to elude it by contending, that by the *Caledonii*, are here meant the *Picts*, because the words *aliorumque Pictorum*, had else been impertinent. Yet to make the *Scots* not to be *Caledonians* in ancient Authors, were too great a Task even for *Usher* ; that being contrary to the universally receiv'd opinion of all the Learned, \* some of which I

\* *Guidus pancirollus* coment. ad notitiam imperii occident. p. 159. where he cites for this *Dion. Eusebius & Spartianus*, and says that *Caledonia* apud eos nunc *Scotia* dicitur *Dion. in vita Severi* Imp. Anno 207, *Begins* l. 1. c. 10.

have cited in the Margin : but for a further Proof, I shall here cite a *Roman* that liv'd very near *Eumenius's* time, and who almost speaks in the same words with him, *Latinus Pacatus Drepanius*, who in his *Panegyrick* to *Theodosius* the elder, who

liv'd



liv'd *Anno 367*, complements him upon \* having reduc'd the *Scots* to their Marishes, shewing that the *Sylva*, and *Paludes Caledonum*, were the *Scotorum Sylva*: though Strangers in those ancient times, could little distinguish *Picts* from *Scots*. And from which I further evince, that the *Scots* before the year 400, dwelt in in *Scotland*, as their own Country; else it had been impertinent and untrue to say, that the *Scots* were reduced to their own *Marishes*.

\* Pag. 248.  
Edit. Plantin.  
*Redactum ad  
paludes suas  
Scotum.*

Having thus shown that the *Scots* were *Caledonians*: It clearly follows, that all the ancient Authors who write of the *Caledonii*, prove the Antiquity of the *Scots*; and therefore *Valerius Flaccus* proves our Antiquity, who writing to *Domitian*, in praise of his Father *Vespasian*, who was known to have made War with us about the year 70 after Christ, says,

—*Caledonius, postquam tua Car-  
basa vexit.*

*Oceannus Phrygios prius indignatus  
Julos.*

And

\* Lib. 10.  
Epig. 44.

And \* *Martial*, who liv'd also in  
*Domitian's* time, says,

*Quinte Caledonios, Ovide visure  
Britannos,  
Et viridem Tethyn Oceanumque  
Patrem.*

\* Comment.  
ad vitam A-  
gricolæ.

Next to these I cite *Tacitus*, who  
in the Life of *Agricola*, brings in  
that famous *Galgacus*, who fought  
with the *Romans*, near to the *Gram-  
pian Hills*. And that he was a *Scot-  
tish King*, or *Leader*, is confirm'd  
from \* *Lipsius*, who calls him *Gal-  
gacus Scotus*. This is also confirm'd  
by the exact and noble *French Ma-  
nuscript* foresaid; which says, that  
*Dardan* was chosen, because *Galdus*  
was not of Age: Alluding to our  
old Law, appointing that the im-  
mediate Heir of the Crown, being  
by his Infancy unable to govern,  
the Government should in that case  
be devolved upon the next, who  
was able to govern: which Law  
was so ancient, that it is said to be  
enacted immediately upon the Death  
of *Fergus the First*. And by *Ber-  
gier*,

gier, afterwards the King's Advocate of France, who in his learn'd History of the High-ways of Rome,

\* calls him *Prince of the Caledonians, or the Scots*. And to what

better Judges can we appeal, in a matter concerning *Roman Antiquities*, and the sense of a *Roman* Au-

thor, than to those two, who are the most famous of all the *Roman*

Antiquaries: the one having written a Book concerning the *Roman*

Greatness, and the other concerning the Magnificence of the *Romans*

in their High-ways. Nor could he be an *Irish* King; for what had an

*Irish* King to do with an Army in the midst of *Scotland*, and against

the *Romans*, with whom no *Irish* King ever fought. And that he

was no *Britain*, is clear from the Speech he made to his Souldiers,

telling them that they had never been conquer'd, *servitutis expertes*,

& *nulla ultra terra*. Nor can any thing agree better with our being

still call'd one of the two unconquer'd Nations, by *Gildas*, *Beda*,

and others. This is yet further clear'd by another Passage in this

same

\* Lib. 1. cap. 10. numb. 9. *Prince des Caledoniens, ou Ecossois.*

\* Petruccio Ubaldini, also in *descritt. della Scotia*, p. 4. & 5. asserts the Scots to be *Caledonians*.

same Life of *Agricola*; wherein

\* Tit. vit. A-  
gric. c. 22. *Tacitus* says, The third Year of the  
War discovered new Nations, which  
Agriculture conquer'd, even to the Ri-  
ver Tay. And after this he adds,  
Agriculture having beat *Galgacus* near  
to the Grampian Hills, brought back the  
Roman Army to the Borders of the  
Horesti; and having received Hostages  
from them, he ordered the Commander  
of the Roman Fleet to sail about the  
Isle. From which I deduce, first,  
that *Galgacus* was no Briton: For  
*Tacitus* says, that the third Year open-  
ed new Nations: whereas *Agricola*  
knew the Britons before; and these  
must have been the Scots and Picts:  
for they could not be any other, be-  
ing beyond the River Tay. And  
*Galgacus* could be no Pictish King;  
for we have a Manuscript, bearing  
all the Names of the Pictish Kings.  
2. From this passage it is clear, that  
*Cambden* does err grossly, in making  
the Horesti to be a People in Eskdale,  
which is a Scottish Country on the  
Borders of England. For (beside that  
all Authors agree, that they are  
known to be the Inhabitants of An-  
gus, and Merns) it is here demon-  
strated

\* Tit. vit. A-  
gric. c. 22. *Tacitus* expeditionis annus novae gentes aperuit: vastatis usque ad Teutam (estuarit nomen est) nationibus Agricola in fines Horestorum exercitum deducit: ibi acceptis obsidibus praefecto Classis circumvochi Britanniam praecipit, &c.

strated by *Tacitus*, that after the *Romans* pass *Forth*, they came to *Tay*, ( which is known to be the Marches or Boundary of *Angus* ) and from thence they marched to the *Grampian Hills*, where they fought with *Galgacus* : And from which he return'd to the Borders of the *Horesti*, where finding the Fleet in the *Frith* of *Tay*, where he had left it, he Embark'd the Hostages, and sent the Fleet back to that part of *Britain* whence they came. And how could all this be in *Eskdale* ? That being very remote from the place of Battel ; and *Eskdale* an inland Country, very remote from all Sea. 3. *Tacitus* writing of us, under the name of *Caledonians*, mentions the Marishes of those who fought, which were appropriated to us by *Eumenius* and *Pacatius*, as I formerly observ'd. By all which we may observe, how little English Writers are to be credited, when they write upon design to lessen our Country, or magnify their own. And all this is confirm'd by the learned \* *Ferrarius* a stranger. And to this I may add, that we have to this

\* Lex. Geograph. verb. *Horresti*.

G

day,

day, a Barony, call'd *Galdgirth*, or the *Girth* of *Galdus*; and ten great Stones in *Galloway*, called *King Galdus's* Monument: Marks of Antiquity far preferable to any Manuscript; as the testimony or consent of a whole Nation, is to that of one privat Person. Two of which Arguments are us'd by *Chambers*, in the Life of *Galdus*: and he had seen *Verimund*, and our old Manuscripts: And should he not then be our King *Galdus*, who reigned at that time, and who (as all our Histories relate) fought against the *Romans*, in this place, which was within the Scottish Territories?

SENECA.

\* Scalig. ad lib.

4. Tibul. ad Messal.

And in his Notes on *Ensebius ad Annum MMLX*, Where there is a most learned and full proof of our Antiquity, too long to be inserted here, and too learn'd to be answered by any Adversary.

The third Citation, shall be from *Seneca*; and is a clear testimony for us in the judgment of the great \* *Scaliger*.

*Ille Britannos ultra noti littora pontis,*

*Et cernit Scoto-Brigantes dari Romuleis,*

*Colla catenis jussit, & ipsum nova Romanæ,*

*Jura securis tremere oceanum.*

To

\* To which *Cambden* answers, \* Ovid. *Salmasius* in *Solia*.  
 That for *Scoto-Brigantes*, we should read *Scuta-Brigantes*. But this is very ridiculous; for we read, that the *Piſts* were call'd *Piſti*, for painting their Bodies; but never for painting their Shields. I know likewise, that *Hadrianus Junius* reads *Cute-Brigantes*; but this would be ill verse: for the first syllable in *Cute*, is by it's own nature, short; but according to this reading it would be long. I might to this add that Answer made by *Florus*, the Poet, to *Adrian* in *Spartianus*.

*Ego nolo Cæsar esse,  
 Ambulare per Britannos,  
 Scoticas pati pruinas.*

For why should we read, *Scythicas*? since *Adrian* was never in *Scythia*; but did fight against the Scots: and caus'd make the *vallum Adriani*.

2. Why should not rather *Scotia*, than *Scythia* be joyn'd to *Britannia*? as\* *Usher* argues most justly upon the \* Cap. p. 723.  
 like occasion. 3. the *Pruine Scoti* de primord.  
*ce* were famous about that time: for *Claudian* hath,

G 2

Ille

\* C. 16. p. 728.

\* *Ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra  
pruinis.*

And *Claudian* does so expressly and so frequently speak of the Scots as settled here, and describes them to be those People, who constantly fought against the *Romans*, with the *Picts*; that the citing him against us, may convince the Reader, that our Adversaries are not serious. Which will appear when I have cited and illustrated him.

In his *Panegyrick*, upon the third *consulat.* of *Honorius*, he complements him upon the victory of his Gandfather *Theodosius*, who behov'd to come into *Britain* long before the Year 382, wherein *Theodosius* his Father was chosen *Emperour*.

*Facta tui numerabat avi, quem lit-  
tus adusti*

*Horrescit Lybii, ratibusq; impervia  
Thule.*

*Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine  
Pictos,*

*Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone  
secutus. Fregit*



*Fregit hyperboreas remis audacibus  
undas.*

And in the fourth *Consulat* of the  
same *Honorius*.

*Ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra pru-  
inis.*

—maduerunt Saxone fuso

*Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine  
Thule.*

*Scotorū cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.*

And *de bello Getico*, he speaks of  
the Roman Legion that return'd from  
fighting with the *Picts*, and us ; (of  
which \* *Beda* makes express mention.) \* *Bed. Eccles.*  
*Hist. l. i. c. 12.*

*Venit & extremis legio pratenta  
Britannis,*

*Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroq;  
notatas*

*Perlegit exanimis Picto moriente  
figuras.*

That all this is applicable to us,  
is clear : because, 1. We had War  
with the *Romans*, and the *Irish* had  
not. And all these Verses in *Claudi-  
an*, are spoke to magnify the *Ro-*

man Conquest. 2. Since we have prov'd, by other Authors, that the Scots were settled here, it is proper and suitable to common sense, to apply the same to us only, as being the only Persons concern'd in those Battels; and to the Isle, in which it is known that the same were fought. And these Passages are attributed to us by *Selden*, l. 2. c. 8. *Mar. Claus.*

3. Have the Irish made any mention of this War, in any of their Histories? and consequently, though *Scotia* had been a common Name to *Scotland* and *Ireland* in those days; yet the Circumstances of the Action, related by the Poet, determine which of the two is here meant.

This is yet further clear from the Panegyrick of *Sidonius Appollinaris*.

——— *Victricia Cæsar*  
*Signa Caledonios transvexit adusq;*  
*Britannos.*  
*Fuderit & quamquam Scotum, &*  
*cum Saxone Pictum.*

As to which, all that *Gambden* (much better acquainted with ci-  
 ting,

ting, than reasoning ) can answer ;  
 is, 1. That the Poet here wrote a Com-  
 plement according to the vulgar Opi-  
 nion of his own Times, which cannot  
 be true, ( as he says ) because the  
 Saxons were not then come to Bri-  
 tain. But he should have consid-  
 ered, that, 1. If this was the Opi-  
 nion in *Sidonius's* Age, who liv'd  
*Anno 480*, \* as *Gesner* affirms, which \* *Gesner* in  
 was very near to *Claudian's* Time, *verb. Sidonius.*  
 who liv'd in 497, as the Bishop  
 of \* *St. Asaph* calculates : we must \* *Pag. 8.*  
 conclude, that it is the rather to be  
 believ'd, that then the Scots liv'd  
 here, for that is not inconsistent with  
 History as the other is, and so should  
 be believ'd, though the other be not.  
 2. There were Saxons living then  
 in *Zetland* or *Orknes*, tho they were  
 not settled in *Britain* ; as is clear by  
*Claudian* himself, who says——

*Maduerunt Saxone fuso Orcades.*

And whereas it is said, that

—*Flevit glacialis Ferne,*

Does make the same applicable to Ire-  
 G 4 land,

land, since *Jerna* is call'd *Ireland*. To this it is answered, that, 1. It is clear, that there is a Country in *Scotland*, call'd *Jerna*, near to which the *Romans* had a noble Camp, and where of the Vestiges are very remarkable to this day; and in which, there are Stones found with *Roman* Inscriptions, designing the Stations of the Legions. And certainly it is more proper to say, the loss was lamented in that Country where the Battel was fought, than in that Kingdom where the *Romans* never fought any. And why did the Poet join *Jerna* in the same lamentation with *Caledonia*? if he had not design'd by it, to express *Jerna*, as a part of our *Scotland*. And this is more proper, than to make the Poet join part of one, to another different, and remote Kingdom. As also *Starthern* in *Scotland*, is indeed a place, where the Frost is strong, and continues long, as being very near the Hills. But *Ireland* was known to be, and is yet a Country much freer from Storms and Ice; and was believ'd by the Ancients to be so, as is most clear  
by

by \* *Beda*. 2. Though the Poet \* *Lib. i. cap. i.*  
 had understood *Ireland*, by *Jerne*;  
 yet it does not follow, that because  
*Ireland* lamented the loss of the  
 Scots who were kill'd here; that  
 therefore the Scots that were kill'd,  
 were not the Scots that were plan-  
 ted in *Scotland*: since certainly, *Ire-*  
*land* could not but have lamented  
 even the death of Scots, who were  
 settled here; as *Scotland*, and as the  
 Scots here did lament very much  
 the death of the Scots who were  
 kill'd in *Ireland* in the late Massacre.  
 And as the Bishop himself argues in  
 the Case of the *Panegyrick* above-  
 cited, I may far more justly argue  
 here, that this sense agrees better  
 with the Poet's noble flight, who  
 makes the loss that the Scots  
 sustained to be so great, that it was  
 lamented even in *Ireland*. *Selden*  
 also, *l. 2. c. 8. Mar. Claus.* applys this  
 to us, and not to the Irish. And  
 these Verses in the same Author,  
 design'd likewise to the praise of the  
 same *Theodosius*,

---

Edomuit, Scotumq; viga mucrone  
 secutus, Fregit

*Fregit hyperboreas remis audacibus  
andas.*

Are only applicable to the Scottish Colony settled in Ireland. For he magnifies *Theodosius*, Grand-father to *Honorius*, for having pursued so far his Victory, that he beat the Northern Seas with his bold Oars. Now, beside all the other Arguments formerly us'd, can it be said, that *Theodosius's* Souldiers ever went to Ireland? that Ireland lies North-west from *Clyde*, or *Severus Wall*? Whereas it is certain they were in *Scotland*; and it is very probable that they would follow the Scottish Colony into the North-west Isles, or over *Clyde*, where it's formerly prov'd the Scottish Plantation first settled.

\* Lib. 1. cap. 1. The Third Testimony, shall be  
Hegesippus de that of \* *Hegesippus*, where he  
excidio Hie- brings in *Ben-gorion* disswading  
rosol. 5. Cap.

15.  
*Quid vobis cum victoribus universæ terre? quibus secreta Oceani, & extrema Indię parent. Quid attexam Britannias interfuso mari toto orbe divisas, & à Romanis in orbem terrarum redactas. Tremat hos Scotia qua terris nihil debet.*

the

the Jews to fight against the Romans, the Conquerors of all the Earth, whom the unsearchable Places of the Ocean, and the furthest places of India, obey. What shall I say of the Isles of Britain, divided from the rest of the World by Sea, and reduc'd by the Romans to be a part of the World; who makes Scotland to tremble, which owes nothing to any part of the Earth? To which Camden answers, That this must be interpreted of Ireland, because the words, *Quæ terris nihil debet*, must be interpreted, as if the Scotia here spoke of, were joyn'd to no other place; and that is only applicable to Ireland, and not to Scotland. But what a hard shift is he here driven to: for none can interpret, *Quæ terris nihil debet*, in that sense, there being nothing more different, than these two expressions, which is not joyn'd to the other Parts of the Earth, as Camden would interpret it; and, which owes nothing to any part of the Earth, as the Author expresses it. There is nothing more ordinary, than for one who thinks he depends not upon another, to say, *I owe you nothing.*  
And

And certainly it agrees much more with the Author's Intention, to interpret these words so, *Scotland, which ow'd homage to no place, does tremble at the Roman Arms.* 2. It cannot be said that ever the *Romans* did attack *Ireland*. And to clear this, beyond answer, in the same harangue, cited out of *Ben-gorion* himself by *Usher*, \* *Ben-gorion* says to the *Jews*, that when the General of the Nations only came, these Nations resisted them; but when the Roman Emperours themselves came, they submitted to them. And I desire to know, if ever *Ireland* was invaded by the *Romans*? So that what is said in the harangue, is not applicable to the *Scotia Hibernica*, as they pretend; but to that Country wherein we now live. As also, by the same *Ben-gorion*, it is clear, that *Nero* being discourag'd upon the rebellion of the *Jews*, and *Vespasian* comming to him, comforted him, by remembering him that some of his Captains had conquer'd all the Western World, France, Scotland, and the land of Tubal. And whereas, *Usher*, to lessen this Authority, is forc'd to alledge,

\*P. 726, & 727.

Ad quos cum venisses duae exercitus Romani, opposuerunt se illi, nec voluerunt ei subditi esse: Cum autem Reges Romanorum venerunt, subegerunt eos ut servirent ipsis.



ledge, that *Hegefippus's* Works were spurious. This contradicts \* *Eusebius*, \* Vid. cap. 27. l. 4. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. who makes him to have liv'd, *Anno Christi* 160. And tho *Usher* contends, that both these Authors must be late, because *Hegefippus*, who only cites *Ben-gorion*, names *Constantinople*, which chang'd not the name of *Bizantium* till about the beginning of the 4th Century. Yet the Answer is easie, viz. That this being a Translation from the *Greek*, the Translator has us'd the name that was best known in his own Time. And the English, and other Nations have acknowledg'd this to be the Work of *Hegefippus*, and translate it as such. *Usher* himself indeed is inclin'd to think, that this was the Work of *St. Ambrose*: but even that is sufficient for us, for not only is *St. Ambrose* himself older than the 503 Year, and so proves that our Country was before that time called *Scotland*; but *St. Ambrose* relating this Speech made in *Vespasian's* Time, must prove, that this Country was call'd *Scotland* in *Vespasian's* Time, who was elected Emperour 72 Years after *Christ*.

*Tertullian,*

\* Tertullian.

\* *Tertullian*, who died in the Year 202, and so must have written some time before that, and could not have written of us as Christians, and a Nation, if we had not been so, for a considerable time : for Informations did spread slowly in that Age, when there was so little Commerce, and at so great a distance. This great Doctor of the Primitive Church, writing against the Jews, who he knew would examine the truth of the matter

\* *Tertul. l. ad-  
vers. Judeos, c. 7.  
Et Britannorum  
Romanis in ac-  
cessa loca, Chri-  
sto vero subdita:  
which Baronius  
appl's to us,  
Tom. 5. p. 537.  
St. Asaph. Pres.  
pag. 2.*

of Fact allerdg'd against them, says, \*for the honour of the *Christian Religion*, which he was defending, That *those Inhabitants of Britain, which could not be subdu'd by the Romans, yet willingly yielded to the Yoke of Christ.* From which it is urg'd, that in *Tertullian's* Time, there were Nations in *Britain* which had never submitted to the Roman Yoke, but yet submitted to the Yoke of Christ. But so it is that could not be meant of the *Britains*, for all the World knows, and the Bishop confesses, that long before that Time, they had submitted to the Romans. And therefore it is plain, that there were other Nations in the Isle; and that could not

not be true, except the Scots, as well as the Picts, had been settled in the Isle at that Time. For a vagrant Company of Robbers, could not be call'd a Nation, or esteem'd a Church : And this Author writes of British Nations ; we must therefore have been a Nation and Church, as the rest were ; and therefore, since they were settled, so must we have been. Nor can this be meant of the North and South Picts, though it were prov'd, that the Picts were distinguish'd into Northern and Southern. For these could no more be consider'd as different People, than the Northern and Southern English can now be said to be different Nations. 2. That sense was not so much for the honour and extent of the Christian Religion : And the Jews might have lookt upon *Tertullian* as a Jugler, for making one Nation appear two. 3. Our sense agrees better with *Beda*, who asserts positively, that from *Rendax's* Time, the Scots made a third Nation in the Isle of *Britain*, with the *Britans* and *Picts*. 4. *Selden*, l. 2. c. 8. confesses, that the *Scoti Pittique*,  
were

were the *Gentes non subjacentes Romano Imperio.*

\* *Ammianus* 1.20  
*Consulatus vero*  
*Constantii de-*  
*cies terque Juli-*  
*ani in Britan-*  
*niis cum Scoto-*  
*rum Pictor-*  
*umque Genti-*  
*um ferarum ex-*  
*cursu rupta quie-*  
*te condita loca*  
*limitibus vicina*  
*vastarentur, &*  
*implicaret formi-*  
*do provincias*  
*præteritarum*  
*cladium congerie*  
*fessas.*

\* *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who wrote about the Year 360, tells us, That the Scots and Picts harraased the Country. But the Bishop unjustly adds, that then they first harraased it. But this cannot be, for *Ammianus* speaks of their Fear, as occasion'd by a Tract of bygon Defeats; and this he elegantly expresses by the words, *congerie præteritarum Cladium*; which shews, that these he speaks of in the 360, were not the first of many overthrows that the *Brittains* had got from the Scots and Picts. And so our being here, must be much antienter than the 360; which agrees well with the word *assueti* in *Eumenius*. And our having fix'd and known Limits, demonstrates to all who understand the Roman Antiquities, that we were then a fix'd and settled Nation, in the same Island with the Roman Provinces of the *Britans*; the Sea, or any part of it, being never signified by their word *Limes*.

\* *Lib. 2. ad Jo-*  
*vian.*

\* *St. Jerome*, in his Epistle to *Jovian*, cites *Porphire*, who liv'd in the

the third Century, under *Dioclesian*, and so above 200 Years before the 503. His words are, *Neither Britain a Province fertile of Tyrants, and the Scotish Nation, and all the Barbarous Nations, dwelling around the Ocean, knew Moses, and the Prophets.* By the *Scotish Nations* \* *Usher* under-stands not the *Scythians*, but the *Scots*, because they are in this place joyn'd to *Britain*: but tho both he, and the Bishop of *St. Asaph* would apply this citation to *Ireland*, yet this Gloss is most absurd; for by the former Argument, the word *Scots* should be apply'd to us, for we are join'd to *Britain*; but *Ireland* is no more join'd to *Britain*, than *Scythia*. And the same *Jerome*, in the next Citation, calls the *Scots* a Nation of *Britain*; where he says, \* That when he was young, he saw the *Scots*, a Nation of *Britain*, feed upon *Mans Flesh*. From which it is clear, that the *Scots* at that time dwelt in *Britain*, which agrees very well with *Beda*, who calls the *Scots* the third *Britannick Nation*. And *Selden* calls the *Scots* and *Picts*, *Gentes Britannicas*, l. 2. c. 8. And this

\* C. 15. p. 728.  
de Primord.

\* Quid loquar  
de ceteris nationibus,  
cum ipse adolescentulis in  
Gallia, Scotos Gentem  
Britannicam humanis  
vesci carnibus.  
Vidi l. 2. ad Jov.  
† Pref. L. in Iren.

H

is

\* Tom. 5.  
P. 537.

is further clear'd, by his asserting, that *Pelagius* was of a Scottish Race, in the Neighbour-head of *Britain*; which proves clearly, as the learn'd \* *Baronius* observes, that there were Scots then in *Britain*, who were Christians, else how could they have been *Pelagians*? Nor can this eating Man's Flesh, be thought any just reflection on the Nation; for certainly these had been some Rogues, who had fled out of the Nation, because they knew they would have been punish'd for this Crime. Nor can their eating Man's Flesh in *France* be charg'd on us, but on the French, where this is said to be so publickly done, that St. *Jerome* could have seen it; and there is no Historian that ever charg'd this on our Nation, nor any part of the Isle, even in our most barbarous Times. And if it had been any ways common, there would have been a Law made against it. And *Boethius* relates, that there was one mean Man guilty of it, who was thereupon executed examplarly. And in what Nation are there not some Monsters?

Ang-

Another of the Reverend \* Fa-  
thers of the Primitive Church, enu-  
merating the Nations, which were  
descended from *Japhet*, mentions the  
*Britons* and *Scots*, whose Isle is  
*Britain*. This shews, that there  
were *Scots* living in *Britain* in *Epi-*  
*phanius's* Time, and so he proves not  
only our Antiquity, by his own Au-  
thority, but confirms and explains  
what was formerly urg'd from *Je-*  
*rome*, in whose Time he liv'd, and to  
whom he wrote Letters.

\* *Epiphanius*  
*in anchorato.*  
*P. 117. ad par.*  
*Britanni, Scoti,*  
*quorum insula est*  
*Britannia.*

\* *Orosius*, who in *Anno 417*, says,  
That *Severus* thought fit to secure  
that part of the Isle which he had, by  
a Wall, from the other unconquered  
Nations. And that *We*, and the  
*Picts* were these unconquered Na-  
tions, appears from \* *Beda*, where-  
in he describes those very Actions,  
in those very words. And all these  
Authors agreeing with *Beda*, and  
writing of the Times wherein  
themselves liv'd, are sufficient Te-  
stimonies, according to the Bi-  
shop's own strictest Rules. And  
they prove how unkind the Bishop is  
in lessening *Beda's* Testimony, when  
it makes for us; by saying, he spoke

\* *Receptam par-*  
*tem insule à ca-*  
*teris indomitis*  
*gentibus vallo*  
*distinguendam*  
*putavit.*

\* *Cap. 5, & 12.*

then according to the Times wherein these Actions happn'd : for we see, that they who wrote, and liv'd in the Time of those Actions, agree fully with him, as they speak clearly for us.

SECT. 6.  
Proofs from  
Reason.

Having thus made plain the Antiquity of our Kings and Nation from the Historians both within and without the Isle. I now proceed to clear these from the Principles of sound Reason : As to which, let us consider, That it being acknowledg'd by *Usher*, and the Authors he cites, that *Ireland* was peopl'd by the Scots, before *Julius Caesar's* Time ; and by their own Authors, whom that Bishop cites, they are said to have been so anciently there, that we do not know how many Ages they possess'd that Isle before *Julius Caesar*. And they being a very broody People, as all Northern Nations, and particularly they, and we are, could not but have multiply'd so exceedingly, as to need relief, and evacuation by Colonies. And it can never be pretended, that the Irish did settle any other Colony



ny save in *Britain* : though it be undeniable, that all those Northern Nations were very desirous and concern'd to extend, by Colonies, the Empire of their whole Nation, and thereby the Possession and Property of every particular Man in it. Nor do we ever read, that the Irish had any Wars with Strangers, whereby they might have either wanted Men to send into Foreign Colonies, or have been forc'd to keep them at home, for their own defence. Whether then are our Histories more probable, which make this Colony to have come over before *Julius Caesar* ? or the Bishop of St. *Asaph*'s account, who makes us not to have settl'd here, till 503 Years after Christ. And tho I esteem the Irish, yet I must remark, that our humour differs so much from theirs, that it may from thence appear, that we stay'd not long amongst them, but that we came from thence very early.

2. By all the tract of the *Roman* Histories, as well as by *Beda's*, *Gildas's* and ours, it is clear, that the Scots and Picts fought joyn'tly against

gainst the Romans in this Country which we now possess: That the Walls built by *Adrian*, and *Severus*, were built here, to defend them against them: That Complaints were made to the *Romans* by the *Britons* of them, and that Succours were crav'd against them: That the *Saxons* were call'd in, to defend the *Britons*, from the Scottish and Pictish IncurSIONS: That they were call'd jointly, *unconquer'd Nations*. All which points prove, that they were equal in every thing; and why not then in their being equally settl'd here? And therefore, except it were clearly prov'd that the Scots were not settl'd and fix'd here, as the Picts were; and that there were Authors produc'd, who living in these Times, declar'd, that in the Year 503, the Scots were first call'd to defend the Picts, as the *Saxons* are clearly prov'd to have been call'd in, against the Scots, and Picts, in the Year 449, very near to the Year 503; which is said by the Bishop to be our Entry: It must be necessarily concluded, that the Scots were here at the time, wherein all these things are told of them

them joyntly, with the *Picts*.

The third Argument shall be, that it's undeniable, that the *Scots* and *Picts* were such constant and formidable Enemies, that the *Romans*, and *Britans*, who then possess the Southern part of this Isle, were forc'd to build two Fences against them: The first betwixt *Tyne* and *Solloway*, which was call'd *Adrian's Wall*: And the second, by *Severus*, who having enlarg'd the *Roman* Conquest, built a second, betwixt *Forth* and *Glyde*, and called it by his own name. How then can it be imagin'd, that the *Scots* did not live on the other side of that Wall? for if they had liv'd in *Ireland*, the Wall had not been necessary, or useful, against them. This common sense would declare to a Stranger, upon first reading the Story; and much more ought it to be believ'd, if we consider, that if the *Scots* came from *Ireland*, in *Corroughs*, as the Bishop of *St. Asaph* alledges, from *Gildas*; then they might have landed upon the *Britons* side of the Wall; nay, and which is more, they could not conveniently

have landed on the other side, except they had gone too far about, and cross'd a very broad and dangerous Sea.

4. Tho People come once, or twice, from a Foreign Nation, by Sea, to rob and pillage, yet it is against sense to think, that for many hundreds of Years, the *Irish* would have come over, to make War against such powerful Enemies, and return once a Year. And it appears clearly, that this was a constant War, from before *Julius Caesar's* Time, for above 600 Years: and in those Ages, it is known, that there were not very convenient means fall'n upon, for transporting Men, much lesse Armies; they having only *Corroughs*, as the Bishop of *St. Asaph* himself acknowledges: And these are a miserable little kind of shapeless Boats, made of Leather, stretch upon Timber, as we find them, and the *Irish* Sea, describ'd by \* *Solinus*, who liv'd near those Times, and writes, that *Mare quod Iuvernæ & Britanniam interluit, undosum & inquietum toto in anno, nisi æstivis pauculis diebus,*

\* Pag. 352.

*bus, est navigabile : navigant autem  
 viminiis alviis, quos circumdant am-  
 bitu tergorum bubulorum.* And how  
 these could transport an Army every  
 Year to fight against such power-  
 ful Enemies as the *Romans* and *Brit-  
 tons* ? And how they could carry  
 back in them the great Booty wor-  
 thy to be fought for ? especially  
 over such broken Seas, that are yet  
 terrible in the best Season, to the  
 best of our Boats, and the stoutest  
 of Seamen, is left to be considered  
 by Men judicious, or disinterested  
 in any measure : Especially, seeing  
 they behov'd to return in the Win-  
 ter-time, for it's presum'd, they  
 fought all Summer ; and even then,  
 they had not the chusing of their  
 own fair Weather, but had just rea-  
 son to be afraid that they would  
 be chas'd away, as Robbers usually  
 are ; and as the Bishop of *St. Asaph*  
 asserts they often-times were. But  
 as all this is absurd, and incredible,  
 according to the Bishop of *St. Asaph*'s  
 Hypothesis ; so it is most consistent  
 with ours ; in which we assert, that  
 the Scots settled on the other side of  
*Clyde*, from which they might come  
 every

every Year ; which agrees also well with *Beda's* saying, That the Scots settled *ad partem septentrionalem sinus Acluth*, or *Dumbrition* ; a narrow Sea, and call'd one part of the *Mare Scoticum* by the English Authors, and particularly by \* *Holinsbed*, and † *Polidore*, as by our || *Major* ; and was so design'd in the forms of holding Circuits, as is clear by the 4 Chap. of the Laws of King *Malcom* 2. and by 5th. A&P. 3. §. 2d. And since in the said Laws of *Malcom* 2. who reign'd *Anno* 1004. The Frith of *Forth* is call'd *Mare Scotia*, the *Sea of Scotland*, and that is mention'd as a Law in old observance ; it must be concluded, that this Country where we live, was call'd *Scotland*, long before the Year 1000, as Bishop *Usher* asserts. For since *Tacitus* and *Beda* say, That we were inclos'd by that Sea, and the Wall, as in an Isle ; it seems that this was call'd the *Sea of Scotland* then, it being our March at that time. Nor are these Friths improperly call'd Seas, being 40 miles broad in some places. And this also agrees with our being *trans-marini*, or on the other side of the Sea,

\* Pag. 16. desc.  
Brit.

† In initio.

|| Pag. 6.

Sea, (which are the words us'd in the said Statute) but not out of the Isle; and it is strange, that the *Visigoths* should have settled in *France* and *Spain*; the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*, shortly after they had made their inroads; and yet we should have return'd yearly for above 600 Years, notwithstanding of the former difficulty.

4<sup>ly</sup>, The Scots coming over to this Isle, could not but know, that the southern Parts of it were very rich, and the People there very cowardly, even to admiration; as the Bishop of St. *Asaph* himself relates, from all their Historians: and there was place enough for a Colony of them in this Isle, or else how could they have planted themselves after, when the Picts became more numerous; and both the Scots and the Picts had good reason to expect every Year new additions of Land: and it is probable, that our Ancestors, being a Colony of a more southern Nation, strangers in *Ireland*, and but lately settled there, left their confinement in the Irish Isle as soon as they could, to enlarge their

their Victories and Possessions in this larger one, which afforded greater Glory. How then can it be imagin'd, that they would not have settled a Colony here, which was far less dangerous, and more noble and advantageous, than to be constantly robbing for small Booty, to the danger of their Lives? But that they fought for Land, and not for Booty, is very clear; not only from the practice of others, but from *Sabellicus*, \* *gliscere indies id malum agebatur duarum gentium audaciâ : apparebatq; brevi totam insulam alienatam iri, nisi ejusmodi conatibus maturé iretur obviam.*

\* *Ænid.* l. 9.  
c. 1.

5. How it is imaginable, that the Picts ( finding themselves in so great danger from the Romans and Britons, the one very considerable for their Valour, and the other for their great Numbers ) would not have intreated the Scots to stay constantly with them? for tho they had been equal to their Enemies, when the Scots and they were together, yet they could not be but much more inferior to them, when the Scots left them once every Year.

6. If



6. If the Irish had constantly sent in Auxiliaries to assist against the Romans, it is not to be believ'd but the Romans would have resentted this Injury against the Kingdom of *Ireland* ; which they never did, except once, \* when the Irish gave \* *Buchan* the Scots Supplies, endeavouring to *p. 128.* re-establish themselves after the expulsion of *Eugenius*. And if this War had been carried on by the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and not by the Scots in *Scotland* ; we had certainly heard, that the Kings of *Ireland* had been mention'd, both in the Roman, English, and our Histories : for it is not to be imagin'd, that so long, and so great Wars could have been carried on by the Subjects, without the consent of the King and Kingdom.

7. If they never had been call'd in by the Picts, to stay as a Colony, till the Saxons had beat the Britons, who had lately call'd them in to their Assistance : How is it imaginable to think, that the Picts would have call'd them in as Auxiliaries at that time ? having so lately

ly seen, how dangerous Auxiliaries might prove, especially considering, that the Scots had been us'd many hundred Years to robbing, as the Bishop of St. *Asaph* would have us believe; and that they were part of a numerous near Nation, from whom they might expect suddenly great Supply: or that they would have not only run this risque, but have divided with them their little Country; and yet not have employ'd their Assistance for the Ends for which they call'd them in. For the Bishop\* tells us, that the Scots did nothing for 100 Years after they were call'd in.

\* Pag. 37.

\*Chambers particularly, p. 9, & 96; also from p. 229 to the end of the Treatise.

8. It cannot be deny'd, but that about the Year 792, \* there was a League entred into betwixt *Charles the Great*, call'd *Charle-Maigne* King of *France*, and *Emperor* of the West, and *Achains* King of *Scotland*, call'd by all the French Historians, the *Famous Alliance*. In which the King of *Scotland* did send over 4000 Men to the assistance of *Charles the Great*. And this is testified by *Hegi-*

\* *Æginardus* who wrote the History of those Times, and was Secretary to *Charles the Great*; and who is cited by *Usher*, at which time the King of Scotland sent over very many famous learn'd Men, who founded the incomparable University of *Paris*. All which is clear by † *Favin*, in his *Theatre of Honour*; and || *Paulus Æmilius* in that King's Life. From which I raise two Arguments; 1. How can it be imagin'd, that if the Scots had not settled in a Colony till the 503, that their King could have been so famous, that in about 280 Years time, this small Colony, which the Bishop of *St. Asaph* represents to have been

\* *Scotorum quoque reges sic habuit ad suam voluntatem, per suam munificentiam inclinatos, ut eum nunquam aliter quam dominum pronunciarent: extant epistole ab eis ad eum misse, quibus huiusmodi affectus eorum erga illum judicatur. Æginard. vita Caroli magni ad annum 791.*

† Lib. 5. pag. 80. *Æginard*. Secretary to *Charle-maigne*, maketh an enumeration of strange Princes, who imbrac'd the Amity of that puissant Monarch. The Emperors of *Constantinople*, *Persia*; the Kings of *India* and *Gallicia*, with the Kings of *Scotland*. *Favin*. l. 5. p. 8. The Scots joyful of this Alliance, as the most famous in Christendom, delegated for their Ambassadors, *William* Brother to their King *Achatus*, assisted with the counsel of four Persons, renowned for Learning, *Clemens*, *Joannes*, *Rabanus*, and *Alcuinus*, with 4000 Men of War sent to the succour of *Charle-maigne*. The two worthy Doctors who staid with *Charle-maign* at *Paris* and *Padua*, were *John* surnam'd *Scottus*, a Scottish-man, both by Nation and Surname, and *Claudius Clemens*.

|| *Paulus Æmilius in vita Caroli magni. Cæterum ut paulatim extingueret Saxonum nomen; honores magistratusque gentibus alienigenis & in primis Scotis mandabat, quorum egregia fide virtutes; utebatur.*

but

but *pilfering barbarous Robbers*, would have become so famous, that *Charles the Great*, then Emperor of all the Western World, would have entred into a League with them, especially since they had not for 100 Years after their settlement, done any memorable Action, \* as the Bishop of *St. Asaph* alledges? 2. If our Kings, and Nation, had only then *Dalrieda*, or the Kingdom of *Argile*, as the Bishop contends, how could this Prince of *Argile* (which is, after all improvement but an Earldom) have been worthy, not only of the Alliance of the great Emperor of the West, but to be able to send 4000 Men, especially having such dangerous Enemies at Home, and being himself but a Stranger, newly entred into a Foreign Island, and living in a small part of the Isle, with the *Picts*, the more powerful and ancient possessors. And that there were 4000 Men sent by virtue of that League, is clear, not only from *Verimundus*, out of whose 2d Book *Chambers* cites the whole League; but by *Sanfovin* an Italian, who writes the History of the *Donglassii*, or *Scoti*, whom he derives

\*Pag. 34, & 38.

Vid. *Sanfovin*.  
delle origine delle  
Case illustri d'  
Itali. p. III.  
Edit. in 4o.  
An. 1609.

derives from *William Douglas*, who was Lieutenant at that Time to Prince *William*, Brother to *Achais*. For which *Sanfovin* cites another, viz. *Umberto Locato*, more ancient than himself. \* And this is so far acknowledged by the French Kings, that upon it we got very great Privileges in *France*, and all the Heralds in *Europe* acknowledg, that the double *Tressure*, was the Badg of that Alliance.

\* *Nella Cronica di piacenza.*

9. How can it be conceiv'd, that the Scots could in so short a time, after their Settlement, have been able, without any help, to extirpate the Picts, who must be presum'd to have been very strong, having been so long settled in this Isle; and having possess'd in effect all that we have now, benorth *Forth*, except the Shire of *Argyle*, if we believe the Bishop of *St. Ajaph*.

Our Tradition is fortified, and the former Authorities cited by us, are clear'd, from the receiv'd Laws of our Nation; for first, all our Histories bear, \* That after King *Fergus's* death, the Nobility finding his Son too young, and the Wars in which they

\* *Leisl. pag. 80. Buchan. P. 97.*

I

were

were engaged very dangerous ; they declared, that the Uncle should govern. Which Custom continu'd, till it occasion'd many bloody Civil Wars betwixt the Uncles and

\* *Istl.* p. 188. Nephews : and therefore \* was justly  
*Buchan.* p. 190. abrogated by a Parliament holden by *Kenneth* the Third, which *Kenneth* the Third reign'd, *Anno* 970. And it were very ridiculous to think, that since these Matters of Fact are true, *viz.* That there were bloody Civil Wars betwixt the Uncles and the Nephews ; and that all this hath been much debated in posterior Parliaments, betwixt such as were for the Crown, and such as were for popular Elections ; without ever controverting the Truth of the Matter of Fact ; and long before we could have any apprehension of such a debate as this, and so that all this was a meer fiction, calculated for maintaining an Antiquity, which was never controverted.

It can as little be deny'd, that there were Laws relating to the *mercheta mulierum* ; since many of our old Charters relate to them, and discharges of them are incorporated  
in

in our Charters ; and which Styles are a part of our old and Traditional Law : These *mercheta mulierum* were thereafter abrogated by King *Malcom Canmor's* Laws, many hundred Years before the starting of this Debate : And that there were such Laws, is also acknowledged, not only by *Baker*, and others within the Isle, but even by *Solinus* and *Jerome*, &c. \* And that these Laws were made by *Evenus* the Third, who liv'd twelve Years before Christ, is a part of the same Tradition ; and so cannot but be believ'd, since Laws are one of the probablest Means imaginable, for preserving Tradition. By the Laws likewise of *Malcom* the 2<sup>d</sup>, who reign'd in the Year 1004. The Frith of *Forth* is call'd *Mare Scotiae*, or the Sea of *Scotland* ; which demonstrates, that before the Year 1000, our Country was call'd *Scotia*, or *Scotland* : and confirms and clears all that is said out of *Beda* ; and as this designation of the Scottish Sea is look'd upon there, as a thing very old and acknowledg'd ; so it is continu'd in our Laws for many Ages, as is

\* Lib. 2. ad *Jovianum*, who seems to point at this, when he says, that *Scoti nullas proprias habens uxoret.*

\* *Solin. cap. 25. de Britannia.*

evident by *K. 7. 2d*, his Laws above-cited.

I had resolved not to mention the Bishop's Objections, against our early Conversion : But I find it so clear, that we were converted to the Christian Faith before the Year 503, that there results this concluding Argument from it, to prove that we were settled before that time. For if we were a Christian Nation converted here, before that time ; it follows necessarily, that we were a Nation settled here before that Time : Since a Nation is said no where to be converted, but where it is settled, albeit some Persons of that Nation may be said to be converted abroad. And that this part of the Isle which we now inhabit, and that people from which we are descended, were Christians before that time ; seems to me very evident, from the former testimony of *Tertullian*, who wrote in the end of the second Century, to which I refer my Reader : And tho' *Tertullian* liv'd a little before King *Donald*, yet the Answer is apparent, *viz.* that the Nations were ordinarily converted before



before the Kings or Magistrates. And it's indeed very probable that the *Christians* who were persecuted in the Southern Nations, would flee from their Persecutors, the *Roman* Emperours: And where could they seek refuge so reasonably, as in that Country, and amongst that People which had never submitted to the *Roman* Empire? And it being acknowledg'd by the learn'd *Usher*, and my Lord *St. Asaph*, that *Britain* was converted in the first Century; it is very reasonable to think, that the *Christians*, who had fled to this Isle, from the persecution of the *Romans*, would have very probably shelter'd themselves here, where the *Romans* had no power: for though it be not prov'd, that the *Roman* Persecution reach'd to *Britain* so early; yet certainly they who fled so far from the Persecution, would not think themselves very secure within the Dominions of the Persecutors, and would have secured themselves by a few more Miles from so dreaded a danger. As also, it seems very improbable, that since the *Christian* Religion spread from *Jerusalem* to *Britain* in

less than 100 Years, that it would have taken above 300 Years more, to reach so few Miles, as are betwixt the British part of the Isle, and Scotland. It is also presumable that the *Druids* having been so prepared to receive Christianity, by their excellent Principles of *Philosophy*, and their *severity of Life* formerly mentioned, which did not contradict, but illuminate the Christian Doctrine, they would have both been easie to be converted themselves, and ready to have converted their former Disciples, and the People who admir'd them. I might here cite many Authors; but I fix upon

\* *Beda*, who asserts positively, That *Palladius* was sent in the 8th Year of *Theodosius junior*; that is to say, in the 431 *ad Scotos in Christum credentes*, by Pope *Celestine*, as their first Bishop: And that *Beda* wrote of us, as the Scots, is formerly prov'd; and this Mission of *Palladius* falling in the Tract and Series of the Actions ascrib'd by *Beda* to us only, it is inconsistent with common Reason, that the things before and after, and the things related in the very Chapter,

\* Lib. I. c. 13.

ter, should be only applicable to us, and yet only this should not: albeit our own and Foreign Histories apply the same to us. As to Foreign Histories, I shall only cite *Baronius*, who, because he made *Ecclesiastick History* more his business than my Lord *St. Asaph*, and was more disinterested, is therefore more to be believ'd as to this point.

This great Antiquary\* tells, *That the Scots who had first receiv'd the Christian Faith from Pope Victor, and their first Bishop from Pope Celestine, were become the chief of all Christians, from being amongst the most barbarous of all Nations, having formerly said, † That all consent that Palladius was their first Bishop; and for which he cites Prosper, as he does Tertullian, Jerome, Sedulius, and others, for our being Christians under Pope Victor, saying, That || they are not to be refuted who assert our conversion under Pope Victor: but is most positive as to Palladius. And whereas it is \* pretended that Prosper's words are not applicable to us, since he says, that Palladius made*

\* Tom. 5. edit. col. p. 536, & 589. num. 5.

*Qui igitur Evangelium primo à victore Pontifice maxima*

*accepere, & à Celestino Papa primum Episcopum, à quo sunt omnes penitus redditi Christiani, eorum Christiani gratia proficere, qui olim gentilitio ritu viventes, ob servatos mores, ut portentum ostentati erant humano generi præstantissimi evenerunt Christiani, &c.*

† Num. 4. || *Qui à victore Romano Pontifice, Scotos Evangelium accepisse, majorum traditione scriptum, hanc sunt refellendi.*

\* Usher. p. 793

*the de prim.*

*the barbarous Island Christian; and our Scotland is not an Island.*

To this it is answer'd, That our part of *Britain* was by *Tacitus*, and *Beda*, said to be reduc'd into an Island, by the *Roman Wall* from Sea to Sea: and \* *Beda* in other places of his History calls us therefore *Islanders*. *Baronius* also applies this to us, and so this gloss is to be preferr'd, to that unwarrantable gloss or reading cited by the Bishop of St. *Asaph*, from the copy of a Manuscript of *Nenius*, *Missus est Palladius Episcopus, primitus à Celestino ad Scotos in Christum convertendos*: for that not only differs from *Beda*, the far more learn'd, ancient, and credible Author: But it is improbable to say, that a Bishop was sent to those, which were to be converted, seeing Conversion useth to be by Presbyters, and Missionars; and when the Church is gather'd, the Bishop is sent: and this gloss contradicts not only common sense, but \* *Ado Viennen*, and \* *Marian*, who both use *Beda's own words*, *Ad Scotos in Christum credentes*: and what is said of the conversion

\* Lib. I. c. 12.  
ac *Tusculani*,  
&c. L. 4. c. 26.  
*Eccl.*

\* Stat. 6.

\* Pag. 340.

conversion of the Scots and Picts by St. *Ninian*, *Palladius*, and *Columba*, to make our conversion to be later than *Tertullian* made it, viz. in the 2d Century, must be interpreted of our fuller and sounder conversion from Paganism, and Pelagianism; and of our being conform'd to the Romish Church, and Rites, which the Authors of those Times considered as the only true conversion. But to make this our first conversion, were to contradict *Tertullian*, *Jerome*, the learn'd *Baronius*, as well as all our Histores. And the \* *Magdeburgian Centuriators* do \* *Edit. Basil.* positively agree with *Baronius*, and *1624. 2d. Cent.* our History, in this our Antiquity: *P. 1.* and so having for us the greatest Ecclesiastick Antiquaries, both Protestant and Papist, we need not condescend upon particular Authors: these being the Standards of Ecclesiastick History to the Professors of both Religions: and it is strange after all this, that a Church-man should so positively contradict, what the Antiquaries of both Churches have so positively asserted; tho if there had been any thing, wherein they could

could have contradicted one another, they would certainly have differ'd.

That *Donald* then was our first Christian King, in *Anno* 203, and *Palladius* our first Bishop, in *Anno* 431, seems most fully prov'd: for these being Matters of Fact, may be prov'd by Witnesses; and who are better Witnesses, than the many Historians of the Country where the things were transacted; especially since these were Matters of great importance, and Notoriety; which the Monasteries, whose Faith is followed by our Historians, could not but know best of all others, and in which they durst not cheat or forge, because the Annals of other Churches would have contradicted them, whereas they are confirm'd by them; and these things fell out, when we had the help of Letters, and are agreeable to the sound Reasons above-related: Tho the conversion of a Kingdom be a matter that could not be unknown, and no other King but *Donald* was ever recorded to have been the first Christian King here.

That

That *Palladius* was sent to the Scots in *Britain*, and not to the Scots in *Ireland*, appears further from these undeniable matters of Fact; viz. That *Pope Celestine* did ordain, and send *Palladius*, in Anno 431: That the same *Pope Celestine* sent *St. Patrick* to *Ireland*: That *St. Patrick's* Mission must have been before the 6th of April 432, is also clear, because *Prosper* tells, that *Celestine* died that Year. And the *Roman Pontifical* tells, it was on the 6th of April that Year. From all which, the *Bishop* did see that *Palladius's* mission must have been to the Scots in *Scotland*; else *Palladius* had been first *Bishop of Ireland*, and *St. Patrick* needed not have been sent into *Ireland*, since *Palladius* was sent there but the Year before. To reconcile which real Contradictions, the Bp of *St. Asaph* makes up a laborious *Hypothesis*, and say's, that *Palladius* was indeed in *Ireland*, but finding he could not succeed, he was upon his return to *Rome*, but died in, or near the bounds of the *Picts*, the 15th of December, 431. So that *St. Patrick*, who liv'd in *Britain*, could not but have

have known his death, and had time enough to go to *Rome*, and be ordain'd Bishop for *Ireland*, and go to that *Kingdom*, and there finish their Conversion, which *Palladius* had only begun : and so *St. Patrick* was call'd the first Bishop. All this Hypothesis is almost impossible, though good *Palladius* had sooner, and deeplier despair'd, than a Saint should have done, especially in the Conversion of a whole Nation : and though both had posted faster for a Benefice, than Holy-Church-men did in those Primitive Times. Yet all this is founded upon *Palladius's* having died *Decemb. 15. 431*. And the only proofs produc'd for this by my Lord *St. Asaph*, is *Baleus de 14. scrip. 6.* near the end; and yet in that same Citation it is positively said, that *Palladius* was sent to *Scotland*, and the particular Scottish King is nam'd ; and *Baleus* adds, That *Palladius clarnit Anno virginiei partus, 434* ; he flourish'd in the Year 434, and so he died not in the 431. And not content with this, *Baleus* goes on, telling, that *post multos pios tandem sudores & religiosa exercitia*



*citia in Fordono vico Merniæ felici-  
cem hujus vitæ sortius est exitum.*  
Which is in our Scotland, and in  
the North part thereof, very far  
out of the Road from Ireland to  
Rome ; and where we have St. Pa-  
dies Church and Fair ; and with us  
he is nam'd our first Bishop to this  
day : but was never nam'd an Irish  
Bishop, until the Bishop of St. Asaph  
made him by a strange word first, *in  
omination of success*, as he says, tho not  
he, but St. Patrick had this success. If  
then he died not so soon, and if the  
time of his death is not prov'd, why  
might he not have baptiz'd Tarvanus ?  
And why should our Boethius be  
hector'd for saying, that Palladius  
baptiz'd Tarvan ? Yet I impute not  
this to my Lord St. Asaph's mistake or  
ignorance ; but it is an elaborate con-  
trivance, to divert all the unanswerable  
Authorities, proving that Palladi-  
us was sent to us in Scotland, in the  
Year 431, and so before the Year 503<sup>3</sup>  
in which my Lord St. Asaph says we  
settled first in Britain. I shall con-  
clude this concerning Palladius, with  
the suffrage of Dr. Hammond, a  
learn'd and Episcopal English Divine,  
who

\* Pag. 162.

\* who in his *vindication of the dissertations concerning Episcopacy*, reconciling the seeming Differences between *Beda*, who asserts, that *Palladius* was sent to the Scots believing in Christ: And *Prosper*, who speaking of the same Mission, says, That *Palladius* made also the Barbarous Island Christian; lays down these three Conclusions; 1. That Christianity was planted in Scotland, before *Celestine's* Time, deriv'd to them most probably from their Neighbour *Britons* here, with whom they are known to have agreed in the keeping of *Easter*, contrary to the Custom of the Roman Church, as \* *Beda* says. 2. That this Plantation was very imperfect, differing little from *Barbarism*, and so reputed by *Prosper*, till the coming of Bishop *Palladius* among them. 3. That even after that, they retain'd the use of *Easter*, contrary to the *Roman* custome, which still refers to some rude conversion of theirs before *Palladius*; and so it is evident, that in the learn'd *Doctor's* opinion, the Scotland to which *Palladius* was sent, was ours; and that we were *Christians* before his coming,

\* Lib. 3.

coming, tho rude and barbarous. The Bishop of St. *Asaph* having thus spirited from us, into *Ireland*, *Palladius* our first Bishop, he proceeds to translate *Amphibalus* our first Churchman upon Record, unto a Shag-Cloak ; designing likewise thereby to prove, that *Boethius* our Historian is not to be credited, because he follow'd their fabulous *Jeffrey* : Who finding that St. *Alban* had, to save his pious Guest, taken the holy Man's Habit, to the end he might be martyr'd for him ; and as *Beda* expresses it, *Caracalla ejus indutus* ; *Jeffrey* concludes, as my Lord St. *Asaph* alledges, that the Vestiment was *Amphibalus* ; and *Jeffrey* having made the Cloak a Man, *Boethius* made him a Bishop of the *Isle of Man* : and so this Cloak was fitly ordain'd to be a proper Bishop for the Chapter of the *Culdees* : But this is *ludere in sacris*, and to expose Episcopacy it self upon the Stage. In answer to which, I shall only offer these few thoughts, First, What Interest had *Jeffrey* (who was a *Briton*) to oblige the Scots, or the *Isle of Man*, in making so horrid a lye ? 2. It is against sense,

to

to think that any Man, much less a Scholar, could have been so gross, as to take a Shag Cloak for a Bishop.

3. If the Shag Cloak had been mistaken for the name of a Man, he should have been call'd *Caracalla*, and not *Amphibalus*; for the *Legend* being written in Latin, *Jeffrey* had certainly chosen the word *Caracalla*, because that was the Latin word, and was the word used by *Beda*, and because there was a Roman Emperor truly of that name, before *Beda* and *Jeffrey*'s Time.

4. *Beda* relating to that passage, tells us, that in the *Dio-clesian* Persecution, *St. Alban*, *Aron*, *Julius*, and many others suffer'd: And why might not *Amphibalus* be one of these many that suffer'd? And why ought *Boethius* to have been tax'd, for mentioning *Amphibalus*, since this was done long before him, by a multitude of English Writers, cited by Bishop *Usher*, who deriv'd his birth from *Greece*, and describes the particular Actions of his Life, and his Martyrdom; with which also the modern English Writers agree,

\* *Baleus*, *Holinshed*, *Speed*, all which English, and thousands of other

\*Pag.28,& 58.

other Testimonies do far weigh down Bishop *Usher's* Conjectures, that *Amphibalus* was not a Man, but a Vestiment, from the silence of *Gildas*, *Beda*, the Martyrologies and Breviaries of *Salisbury*, and *Jeffrey*, who do not mention him : for *Gildas* could not mention him, writing concerning the Conquest, and Destruction of *Britain* ; *Beda* tells the Passage relative to *St. Alban* ; and albeit he names him not in the Dioclesian Persecution, yet he tells, that many more suffer'd than the three he names. We have not seen the Martyrologies, and Breviaries, nor does it import whether they mention him or not ; and it is not so much to be wondered at, that some English Writers do not mention him, as that he is mention'd by so many, seeing he was a *Greek*, and a Bishop in the remote Isles of *Britain*, and in all likelihood would have been buried under silence, had it not been for that Passage with *St. Alban*.

My last Argument for confirming our History, shall be, that the best Critiques, Historians, and Antiquaries

tiquaries of other Nations, who had occasion to mention our Histories, and particularly the great *Baronius*, *Scaliger*, *Salmasius*, *Lipsius*, *Carolus Sigonius*, *Favinus*, *Selden*, and others of the first Rank, (too many to be nam'd) have passionately defended our Antiquity, and not only sustain'd, but prais'd our Histories: and so the Arguments and Grounds whereupon I have proceeded, are already asserted by the best Judges, and that too after *Luddus* publish'd his Objections against the same, and almost the very same Objections which are now urg'd, and which are treated with great contempt by \* *Scaliger*. Since then there is nothing now urg'd, that could have escaped the observation of these learn'd and curious Authors, who could not but have discover'd, as soon as the Bishop of St. *Asaph*, that our Historians did not mention any Warrants which were written in the Time, or did contradict the Roman History or one another. I admire why now these our Histories should be controverted. And tho something might be pretended, if my Lord St. *Asaph* did  
in

\* Pag. in *Ek-*  
*seb.*

in this Book, produce Manuscripts unknown to those learn'd Criticks; yet could they have been so blind and ignorant (especially in that subtle and laborious Age, wherein all Men were by a noble emulation contending, who should discover most) as not to have seen defects? which if they had been real, they had been obvious. It is also very remarkable, that since all Nations are emulous of one another in Matters of Antiquity; yet they, by yielding to ours, have thereby acknowledg'd, that ours was beyond all debate; and to this day, none controvert it, (notwithstanding of all the pains taken by *Luddus, Cambden,* and *Usher*) further than to gratify their own Country. And therefore, as *Cicero* argues, that the Romans were the bravest, because every Nation commended them next to their own: I may contend, that we are the most ancient, because every Nation confesses us to be next to themselves in Antiquity. I shall cite, for confirming this, some few Instances. *Saxo Gram. Swanningius, Albertus Krantzius,* own our Name

and Nation to have been before Christ, though after the *Danes*. *Mezeray* shortly after *Pharamond* : and my Lord St. *Asaph* himself, who brings us in but 50 Years after the English.

Since it is probable that the Bishop of St. *Asaph* and I will not agree well in the decision of this Debate ; were it not just that we should both rest in the decision of learn'd Strangers, who understood Antiquities exactly, these being the subject Matter of our Controversy ? And where can we find more qualified Judges than those great Antiquaries whom I have named ? But yet to shew how much I trust to the strength of that Truth which I assert, I dare appeal to *Selden*, that English-man, who was so affectionate to his Country, and that Antiquary who understood best of all Mankind the Antiquities of his own Nation, and even to him also in his *Mare Clausum*, written for the Defence and Glory of his Country ; who, *lib. 2. cap. 8. Maris Clausi*, has these words, speaking of those famous Lines in *Claudian*, to the praise of *Stilicho*,

*Inde*



*Inde Caledonio velata Britannia  
monstro*

— *Totam cum Scotus Jernam  
Movit & infesto spumavit remi-  
ge Tethys.*

As the *Palmes*, and the River *Tagus* were peculiar to *Spain*, as the Ears of Corn and Ivory to *Africa*; so he would have it understood, that the Province of *Britain* had the Sea of the same name peculiar thereto. But yet it is to be conceiv'd, that the Dominion of the Romans was so limited in this Sea, according to their possession of the Shore, that they had little power in that part of the British Sea, which bordered upon the Shores of those British Nations who were not under their Obedience. This is to be taken chiefly of the Irish Sea, and the rest that lies North-west; for when the Roman Empire began to decline, not only in *Ireland*, but in the *Isle of Man* also, and the other Isles of the Western Sea, and a great portion of the more Northerly parts of *Britain* was possess'd

‘ by the Scots and Picts, so that we  
 ‘ have sufficient ground to conceive,  
 ‘ that they also had an ancient Do-  
 ‘ minion of their own in the neigh-  
 ‘ bouring Sea.

From which Passage I argue thus,  
 1. That *Selden* consider’d the Scots  
 and Picts, as Nations not subject to  
 the Romans ; *Gentes iis (viz. Ro-  
 manis ) minime subjacentes, No manner  
 of way subject to the Romans ;* and  
 looks on us as the most conside-  
 rable of these two Nations : for the  
 words run, *A Scotis, tenebatur Pi-  
 ctisque ;* and very justly, for we  
 were able to defend them while  
 they were just to us, and to ex-  
 tirpate them when they became  
 Enemies.

2. This great Antiquary asserts,  
 that the Scots and Picts possess not  
 only in *Stilicho’s* Time, who was  
 Guardian to *Honorius*, and so liv’d  
 about *Anno 400*, a great portion  
 of the Northern part of *Britain*, as  
 well as the Isle of *Man*, and the rest  
 of the Western Isles ; and conse-  
 quently if we possess them then, it  
 cannot be said that we were only  
 here

here by way of incursion, till the Year 500 ; or were confin'd to *Argile*, till after the Year 500, as my Lord St. *Asaph* contends.

3. That we were not only possess then, but that we had *avitum Dominium*, ancient *Dominion*, and had right *prisco jure* ; and nothing is so inconsistent with the being Proprietors, as to be Robbers, coming only by way of Incursion ; and if we had the Dominion of our Seas, *jure prisco*, and *per Dominium avitum* ; we were certainly ancient Possessors before the Year 400, and so must have been not only far older than the Year 500, but even to have been *prisci incolæ*, as *Beda* (*l. i. c. i.*) says, before the Romans entred this Isle, and so before Christ.

*Selden* also, in the transition from that 2d to the 3d Chapter, tells, after that he had spoke of the Scots Dominion of their own Sea, that he will treat of the succeeding Ages, and so proceeds to the Saxons, which demonstrates, that we were settled here before the Saxons, though my Lord St. *Asaph* makes their settlement here more ancient than ours. And in this

*Beda* agrees with *Selden*, but both contradict the Bishop. And lastly, this passage clears, that the Testimonies, not only of *Claudian* concerning *Jerna*, but even of *Tertullian*, when speaking of the Inhabitants of *Britain* not conquer'd by the Romans, and of *Jerom* speaking of the Britannick Nations, are only applicable to us: And therefore I hope my Lord St. *Asaph* will not take it ill, if we, in a Matter of Antiquity, prefer an impartial Antiquary, to an interested Divine, as I would not be offended, if the Bishop of St. *Asaph* were preferr'd to me in a Theological Controversy.

SECT. 7.  
Answers to the  
Bishop's Ob-  
jections.

The first general Objection against our Histories, is, that they were not written by those who lived in the Time, but more than 1400 Years after the things happened, of which they wrote. And it were strange, that if *Gildas*, who liv'd 500 Years before the eldest of them, could find no sufficient Instructions, save from Foreigners, that our Historians should have found sufficient Warrants for a History after so long a time.

To

To which my Answer is, That our Histories giving only an account of one Nation, it was easier to find the true and sincere Tradition as to us, than it was in other Nations, where the Conquerors were not concern'd to preserve the Traditions and Records: and though I have made it very probable, that this Isle had the use of Letters before, or at least soon after we settl'd in it, and so might have preserv'd the Story. Yet albeit our History were only founded on Tradition, until about 600 Years after Christ, before which the Monastery of *Jona* or *Icolm-kill* was founded, that Tradition might have been sufficiently preserv'd, for so few Generations, by the means and methods that I have formerly condescended upon. Nor can I see, how the Origin of a Nation could not have been preserv'd by those who were of it, or how, being establish'd it could have vanished when People became more polite and curious. And after the Year 600, I have prov'd, that our Historians might have been, and were sufficiently warrant'd in what they have said,  
by

by old Manuscripts, and Records; nor is there any thing urg'd in this Objection against us, but what might as unanswerably be urg'd against the Greek and Latin Historians. A receiv'd History cannot be overturn'd, from what I have formerly represented, without Arguments, which necessarily conclude that the History impugn'd must be false; which cannot be alledg'd here, where the Warrants of the History controverted, not only might have been, but probably were true; and are so far from contradicting other Histories, that they are confirm'd by them.

I desire also to know, what old Manuscripts and Records *Luddus*, the Antiquary so far prefer'd to ours, had for proving, that much elder Succession of History from *Brutus* to his own Time: And whereas *St. Asaph* says, that *Buchannan* should not have tax'd *Luddus* for deriving the *Britons* from *Brutus*, since he own'd a Succession of our Kings from *Fergus*, there being as few Documents to support the one, as the other.

To

To this my Answer is, That there have been very solid grounds brought for sustaining the one, which cannot be alledg'd for the other: and ours are adminiculated by the Roman History, whereas theirs is inconsistent with it: for it is palpably inconsistent with the Roman History, to say, that *Brutus* was the Son of *Ascanius* whom he kill'd, for which being banish'd from *Italy*, he came over to *Britain*: and that *Britain* was govern'd by Consuls: which should rather be laugh'd at, than confuted.

The Bishop is most unjust to us, in asserting, that we have no Author of our own before *Fordon*; and that no Author mentions our Antiquity, but such as have follow'd *Fordon*, who wrote about 300 Years ago. For *Fordon* cites his Vouchers, many of which are extant, and those who are lost, are prov'd to have been extant. Within the Isle we could have no Authors till there were Writers, and *Gildas* and *Beda*, the eldest in the Isle, prove our Antiquity. Without the Isle none could know us, being so remote, but either

ther by the Wars they had with us, or the Christianity that was common to them and us. As to our Wars, all the *Roman* Authors above-related speak of us; *Orosius* about the Year 417. *Claudian* 397. *Ammianus* before the Year 360. *Beda* and *Eumenius* speak of us, as before *Julius Caesar*, as hath been prov'd. All which we have collaterally supported, by a gradation of Ecclesiastick Historians abroad, and all our own Historians at home. *Beda* brings us to *Reutberus*, who was the 6th King from *Fergus* the first: and he living within 150 Years of *Fergus*, this short step may be trusted to Tradition, though we had wanted the help of the *Druids*, and *Phenician* Letters: for a Father might have inform'd his Son of so near a Time; nor was this worthy of a fiction. And I may modestly say of the foregoing Citations from forraign Authors, that if they be not strong enough to overturn the Bishop's Hypothesis, yet they are at least as strong as those produc'd by *Josephus* in defence of the Jewish History; and yet all the learn'd World has acquiesc'd in them.

Nor



Nor is there any thing to be concluded from the silence of *Adamnanus*, and *Marianus*, the eldest of our Historians: though, as the Bishop alleadges, they had certainly mention'd our Antiquity, if they had known it. For *Adamnanus* wrote no History save of *Columba*; and *Marianus* going to *Germany*, when he was very young, could know little of us, and mentions only the three Kings of *Scotland*, in whose time he liv'd: and so if this Argument prov'd any thing, it would prove too much. For certainly we had Kings before those three, whom he mentions; and these negative Arguments are of no moment in Matters of History, and are justly reprobated by the learned *Scaliger*, in his Notes on *Eusebius*, and by \* *Vossius*. \* *De Hist. Lat.*  
*sin.* P. 4.

The second Objection is, That our Historians contradict one another concerning the Origin of the Picts; which ought to lessen their credit. But to this it is answered, That our Historians were not concern'd to consider the Origin of the Picts as they were to consider their own

own. And this Objection subsumes not what is true in Matter of Fact. For our Historians generally agree in the Origin of the Picts, whom all of them make to be *Scythians*: and though *Fordon* relates three different accounts of them, yet he does not settle upon any thing that is different from our other Historians

\*Cap. 30, & 37.  
L. 1.

\* as is fully to be seen.  
The third Objection is, That our Historians are contradicted by our own Antecessors; for our Historians assert that King *Donald* the first was our first Christian King; whereas in our Apology against *Edward* the first of England, about the Year 1300, we assert the Tradition of a wonderful Victory obtain'd by our King *Hungus*, against the *Saxons*, by the Relicks of St. *Andrew* the Apostle, by virtue whereof the Scots first receiv'd the Faith of Christ.

To which it is shortly answer'd, that every Contradiction does not overturn the Truth of a whole History; otherwise we need not be troubled to give any other answer to the Bishop's own Book: nor is this pretended to be a Contradiction amongst

mongst our Historians, for they all agree, that King *Donald* was our first Christian King; but in that Apology, which is alledg'd to contradict our Histories, our Predecessors design'd, as most Pleaders do (and this Eloquent Author does in his Book) to gain their Point at any rate. For understanding whereof, it is fit to know, that King *Edward* the first, having upon the Competition betwixt *Bruce* and *Baliol*, interpos'd with design to make himself Lord Paramount of *Scotland*; he caus'd his Parliament write to the Pope, to whom afterwards he wrote himself; in which Letter of his, it is pretended, that we were Vassals to *England*, as descended from *Albanactus* the second Son to *Brutus*.

2. Because several of our Kings had become Vassals to his Predecessors, in the Times of the British, Saxon, and Norman Kings. To which we answer in our Apology, That without debating, whether the first Inhabitants of the Isle were descended from *Albanactus*, or his *Albanians*, it is asserted, that we came from *Spain* by *Ireland*, and conquer'd the  
the

\* *Bed. Ec. Hist.*  
lib. I. cap. I.

\* *St. Asaph,*  
p. 45.

the first Inhabitans (for which we cite \* *Beda*) and so, tho they had been Vassals, we were free; not being lyable to the Conditions of the People we conquer'd; and as such, fought constantly against the *Britons*, who were forc'd to build *Severus's* Wall against us. And as to any homage made by our Kings, it was either for the Three Northen Countries of *Cumberland*, *Westmoreland*, and *Northumberland*, confirm'd to us by the *Britons*, to defend them against the *Saxons*; and thereafter again \* confirm'd by both *Saxons* and *Britons* to assist them against the *Danes*. Or was extorted by force, from one or two young Captive Kings; upon which heads the Popes had declar'd us free: which Bulls, *Edward* himself had robb'd unjustly out of our Treasure, with other Records, which he could not deny: but to cajole the Pope their Judg, they insinuate, that though they were not Tributaries to his Holiness, as *England* was; yet they ought to be protected by the Pope, because they had been converted by *St. Andrew* his Predecessors

fors Brother-german : St. *Andrew* having in *Hungus's* reign obtain'd for them a Victory over the *Saxons* ; and so became subject , and subservient to the Pope, in having converted the *Saxons* by *Aidan*, *Finan*, and *Colman*. From this Matter of Fact, I observe, 1. That we own'd the same origination there, that our Historians do to this day : and so our Ancestors differ'd not from our Historians, much less are they irreconcilable, as St. *Asaph* alleadges. 2. That the English acknowledg'd us to be as ancient as the *Britons*, they and we being descended from two Brothers. 3. That what we said of St. *Andrew*, must needs be upon design, to have oblidg'd the Pope, meaning certainly, either that we were then first effectually converted to the Church of *Rome*, from the Oriental Observations, in which we were very long very obstinate, and that *Rome* consider'd that, as the true Conversion ; or that after that time we first became subject, tho not feudatary to the Pope, as these fore-cited words subjoyn'd do insinuate.

L

But

But that our conversion from *Paganism*, was more than 400 Years before the *Saxons*, is positively asserted in that same Apology. Nor can this have another meaning, for it is undeniable, that we were Christians long before the reign of *Hungus*, who reign'd 800 Years after Christ : and *Colman*, &c. liv'd long before that King. Nor was *Hungus* our King, we being only Auxiliaries to him then, as King of the *Picts* : after which Apology, King *Robert* the 1<sup>st</sup> being crown'd, and having defeated King *Edward* at *Banock-burn*, where he gain'd a most signal Victory over the *English*, they then being low, made application to the Pope ; and he having discharg'd us, by a formal Interdiction, to pursue the Victory into *England* ; the *Nobility*, to pacify that Pope, and to remove the Interdiction, at the desire of the King, wrote Letter, wherein they own the Antiquity of our Nation, and Religion, and *Royal-Line*, mentioning when we came from *Spain*, as our Historians do, with whom they agree exactly, *Ut ex antiquorum*

*tiquorum gestis, & libris, collegimus,* says the Letter : which being prior to *Fordon*, proves that all this was not *Fordon's* Dream, and that our History is well founded on old Records, prior to *Fordon*. And lastly, it appears, that our Kings were not Vassals to *England* for their Crown, but only for these Provinces, as \* my Lord \* *St. Asaph* confesses, and as I have prov'd in my *Treatise of Precedency*; albeit our Independency was as much controverted of old, as our Antiquity is now : and I hope that the one will shortly appear as unjust a Pretence, as the other is already confest to be. From this it appears, that there is rather a Harmony than real Contradiction here, and that any seeming Contradiction is far less, than the real ones, betwixt *Beda*, and the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and the following Contradictions, wherein he differs from himself. For clearing whereof, observe, That the Bishop says \* he que- \* *stions* not the truth of any thing that is said to have been within 800, nay within 1400 Years; but so it is, that this would bring us to be settled

\* Pag. 45.

\* Pag. 8.

here, before the Year 300 after Christ: for subtract 1400 out of 1684, (which is the Year in which the Bishop prints his Book) his Lordship can controvert nothing except what was done within 284 Years after Christ: And yet he decryes our Historians, for saying, that we were settl'd here before the Year 503; and denies our being Christians for many Years after the Year 300; and to improve this learn'd Bishop's just Concession, I must remark, that all our Historians agree, that *Gregory the great King of Scotland*, who died *Anno, 892*, added *Northumberland* to the *Merse*; and having defeated the *Britons* at *Lochmaben*, he forc'd them to renew their ancient League, and to confirm to him the former Right, his Predecessors got from them to *Cumberland*, and *Westmorland*, for assisting them against the *Picts* and *Saxons*; which shews also, what great things we could do, not only alone without, but even against the *Picts*. All which being said by our Historians, not only within the 1400 Years,



Years, but the 800, are not controvertible by the Bishop's concession: and therefore I understand not why he asserts \* that we had nothing but the Kingdom of *Argyle* before the beating and extirpating of the *Picts*, who gave us their possession beyond *Drumalbain*. Nor can I reconcile, how the Bishop asserts all alongst, and particularly, \* that the *Picts* \* Cap. 1. Paragraph 2, 3, and 12. had nothing besouth *Grahams-dyke*, or the *Frith* of *Forth* and *Clyde*: and yet he confesses \* that amongst the \* Pag. 156. *South-Picts*, there was a Monastery of *St. Martin* at *Whit-horn* founded by *St. Ninian*, in honour of that Saint; and *Whit-horn* is in *Galloway*, in the furthest south point of our *Scotland*, near eighty miles besouth *Forth*; and himself also confesses \* \* Pag. 83. *Whit-horn* to be in *Galloway*.

The fourth Objection being, that our Historians have followed *Jeffrey* of *Monmouth*, in many ridiculous inventions, which were purely his own; and particularly in the History of *Bassianus*, who being *Emperour*, is by him pretended to have been kill'd in *Britain*, by *Fulgenti-*

us ; which, tho *Buchannan* does not exactly follow, yet he still makes *Bassianus* to have been a Roman Lieutenant, and to have been kill'd in *Britain* ; whereas it appears not from any Roman Authors, that there was any Roman Lieutenant here. To this it is answered, That no Man comparing our Histories with *Jeffrey of Monmouth*, can think so : for we bring not our Nation from *Brutus*, as he does against common sense ; and tho *Jeffrey* tells a story of *Bassianus* the Emperour being kill'd in *Britain*, which contradicts the Roman Story ; yet *For*

\* Not utiq; illu  
Bathianus, Cara-  
calla, qui trans-  
actis non paucis  
annis, Severo  
patrē successit,  
sed alius jam-  
que propter mi-  
litem jam in-  
peratū illū.  
Scot. Chro. l. 2.  
c. 45.

does expressly say \* *it was not that Bassianus who was Emperour*, but a Captain sent here : and so does not follow, but contradict *Jeffrey*. And *Buchannan*, to shew that he does not follow him (and he understood too well the Roman Story to do so) only relates that there was a *Bassianus* kil'd, which no Roman History contradicts ; and which is not to be presum'd *Buchannan* would have made, since there is nothing in it for the advantage of his Nation : and

as

as it is probable, the *Emperour* would not have suffer'd *Carausius* to make such great preparations, without sending a considerable *Captain*; especially since *Entropius* tells, that after many Wars attempted with *Carausius*, he at last concluded to send a *Captain* against him, without naming who that *Captain* was. It were a hard thing therefore to conclude so great Authors were forgers, because they condescend not upon an Author for every indifferent Circumstance; and the \* *Notitia Imperii* is so far from having taken notice of every Lieutenant in a Legion, that I can prove by many Texts of the Civil Law, that even Consuls themselves have been forgot, when they were only chosen to succeed to those, who died during their Consulship.

\* *Vid. Instit. ad  
Senatus. Cor.  
Trebell.*

But the great Objection used by the Bishop, against our Antiquity, lyes in the 4th § of the Bishop's first Chapter, wherein he asserts, *That Ireland was peopled by the Scots, and was the only Scotland before these times, viz. before the Year 503:* And in the 5th §, *That there were no*

L 4

Scots

Scots in Britain before the said Year 300. And in the 6th and 8th §; That the Scots, betwixt the 300 and 500 Years, were indeed here, but not settled, and only by way of Incurſion. And in the 9th §, he asserts, That about the Year 500 they first settled here, and erected the Kingdom of Argile. And in the 12th and 13th §, he asserts, That after the Year 900, we got the rest of the Country, and then only it came to be called Scotland.

For clearing all these Mistakes, without partiality or humour, I shall sum up my Answers in these distinct Propositions.

First, It is undeniable in it self, and acknowledged by our Adversaries, that the first special Names, under which Ireland was known, were *Ierna* among the \* Greeks, and *Hibernia* among the Latins: both of which are, as I said, acknowledged by † Bishop *Usher* himself.

\* *Ptolom. Geog.*  
lib.2. cap.2.

† P. 722, 723,  
and particularly 724.

*Hanc insulam Britannidem olim à Julio Cæsare*

*vocatam Fabius Ethelwardus haud recte retulit: non alio enim quam Hiberniæ nomine, à Cæsare, uti post eum à Plinio, Solino, & Tacito illam invenimus.*

My

My second Position is, That before the Year 300, there is no Foreign Author produced by either Nation, that mentions *Scotia*, *Scoti*, or *Scotica gentes*, except *Seneca*, who mentions the *Scoto-brigantes*: and *Florus* the *Scotica pruina*: and *Hegippus*, who mentions *Scotia*: and *Porphyrie*, who mentions *Scotica gentes*. And tho I have prov'd formerly all these Authors and Passages to be genuine, and applicable to us alone: yet, *tho they were only spurious Authors, or the conjectural Readings of new Criticks*, as Bishop \* *Usher* (whom my Lord St. *Asaph* follows) † alledges, *Porphyrie* only excepted, whose Testimony is admitted by him to be in the third Century. It clearly follows, that my Lord St. *Asaph* has, without sufficient Warrant, asserted in the forementioned place, that *Ireland* was called *Scotland* before the Year 300: he admitting no Author for this, save *Porphyrie*, whose Book he acknowledges not to be extant, but to be only cited by *Jerom*, who liv'd long after the Year 300.

3. My

\* P. 725, 726,  
727, 728.  
† Cap. I. §. 4.

3. My chief Design in this Book, is not to debate the Antiquity of the Names of *Scotia*, or *Scoti*, but only when we first settled under Kings in this Isle. And consequently though Arch-bishop *Usher*, and the Bishop of St. *Asaph* could prove, that the words *Scotia*, and *Scoti*, were not known the first 300 Years, except in *Porphyrie*; yet that cannot prove that we were not settled here before that Time. For it is undeniable, that many Nations have had peculiar Names, before those Names can be found in History, as *Scaliger* very well proves: and they could not be known in Histories, till other Nations had commerce with them, and wrote of them, which was a thing very accidental. And Foreigners do oft-times design Nations by Appellatives, which they themselves invent. And it is asserted by Bp *Usher*, that the Scots inhabited *Ireland* long before the Year 300, tho till then he cannot give an Author for that word. And who can deny that the Picts liv'd long here before *Eumenius*;

*nus*, who first mention'd them, and liv'd long after *Porphyrie* who mentions the Scots? And it is very observable that to this day, neither the Irish nor we are call'd Scots in the true Irish Language; for they call their own Country-men *Erenach*, from the word *Ferna*, or *Ibernia*, and us *Albanach*, from *Albion*, and *Albania*: Which also clears, that we got that name long before *Julius Caesar's* Time; since before that time, the word *Albian* was run into desuetude, and was succeeded to by the more known name of *Britannia*: And these Originations are the more confirm'd, that to this day the same Irish, and our Highlanders, know no other names to the English, save *Sassanach*, because of *Saxony* from which they came; as they call'd us *Albanach* (to distinguish us from themselves) from the Country to which we came. Which may give us likewise a hint, how by Names, without Histories, most ancient Monuments of Antiquity may be preserv'd: And it is fully prov'd before that time, we were known in this  
 Coun-

· Beda l. i. c. i. Country, under the name of \* Dal-  
 † Tacit. in vita *rendini*, and † *Caledonii*.  
 Agricola.

4. All those uncontroverted Testimonies, that make first mention of the Scots, and of *Scotland*, are only applicable to us : such as *Claudian*, *Pacatus*, *Ammianus*, &c. as has formerly been fully prov'd. And since *Hegesippus* is the first Author produc'd by the Bp of St. *Asaph*, who mentions *Scotia* ; and that it has been formerly prov'd, that these Passages relate to Us, and not to *Ireland* ; it follows clearly, that the name *Scotia* was given to Us, before it was given to *Ireland*, or that the Irish were call'd *Scoti* : Albeit it were admitted that the Works ascribed to *Hegesippus*, were really St. *Ambroses*, who flourished before the Year 400. And *Cambden* acknowledges that the Name of *Scotland* came over with the Scots to *Britain*, cap. i. *Hibernia*. And therefore since I have prov'd, that the Scots came over before *Julius Caesar's* Time ; it follows from *Cambden*, that the name of *Scotland* was ascribed to us before them.

5. Tho



5. Tho it be true, and acknowledged on all hands, that *Ireland* was inhabited by the Nation of the Scots, as is written by *Orosius* in the Year 417 ; and that it be true that our Colony came from *Ireland*, as *Beda* and our Historians commonly assert, and that thence it may be said, that *Hibernia est proprie Scotorum Patria*. It will not follow that either We, or the Irish were called Scots before that Time ; or that because We have deriv'd our Colony from the *Irish*, that therefore We have deriv'd the Name of *Scoti* from them. But on the contrary, supposing with *Usher*, that the *Nomen Scoticum* had been first given in the third Century, then the Name behov'd to have been ours originally, who were more known and consider'd in the World than they, because of the honour we had in the Roman Wars (whose Authors do first mention *Scoti*, and *Scotia*) and our early conversion to the Christian Faith : And by our frequent intercourse of Colonies with the Irish (as about the time of *Fergus* the second).  
It

It is probable we did communicate the Name of *Scoti* to these Inhabitants in *Ireland*, from whose Ancestors we were descended, and among whom our Colonies, that were returned, settled; as at this day, the Scots in the North of *Ireland* do retain the Name, and as we had the name of *Hibernia* communicated to us from them; which is abundantly clear'd from what is said out of *Emmenius* and *Gildas*. So that these names of *Hiberni* and *Scoti* have become common to both People; but with this difference, that as the Irish were originally called *Hiberni*; so our Scots were originally *Scoti*. For of all the Passages produced by Archbishop *Usher*, or Bishop of St. *Asaph*, to prove the Irish to be called *Scoti*, that of *Orosius* is the first that is applicable to them: for those from *Claudian*, *Ammianus*, *Pacatus*, and *Hegesippus* do not at all agree with them; nor yet that Passage from *Prosper*, as has been proved; nor these from *Gildas*: for tho he calls those People; who are said to return home, *Hiberni*, or *Irish*; yet he

\* he calls the same People who re-<sup>\* Pag. 117, 118.</sup>  
 turn'd home, *Scots*, and not *Irish*.<sup>inter Ortho-</sup>  
 And the Actions to which these Pas-<sup>doxogr.</sup>  
 sages cited against us relate, are un-  
 controvertedly by *Beda*, *Gildas*, and  
 all the Roman Authors, applicable to  
 Us, and not to the Irish: being the  
 three Vastations made by the *Picts*,  
 and *Us* in the British Territories.  
 And *Mariannus* ( whom the Bishop  
 likewise cites against us ) \* does ex-<sup>\* Pag. 347. E.</sup>  
 pressly apply this to the Scots; for<sup>dit. Basn.</sup>  
 he uses the word *Scoti*, in speaking  
 of all the three Vastations. And  
 whereas *Gildas* useth the word  
*Scoti*, speaking of the first two Va-  
 stations, and says, *Hiberni rever-*  
*tuntur domum*, speaking of the last:  
*Marianus* repeating the same pas-  
 sage, says, *Scoti revertuntur domum*.  
 By which also I infer by a far better  
 Consequence, that the Scots must  
 be said to return to the place where  
 they were formerly settled; but so it  
 is, that the place where the Scots  
 were formerly settled was the West  
 of *Scotland*, and therefore when they  
 return'd home, they return'd not to  
*Ireland*, as the Bp of *St. Asaph* alledges,  
 but

but to our North-west Country, as we contend : for the word in *Gildas*, is à *Circio*, which signifies North-West ; and *Ireland* lies South-West from *Grahams-Dyke*, near which these Actions were done : But *Argile*, and those Isles which We possessed, lies indeed North-West from it. And if they had return'd to *Ireland*, they had been *Trans-marine*, as living in another Isle, contrary to *Gildas*'s own express assertion, as it is interpreted by *Beda*, cap. 12. lib. 2.

2. Why should the *Picts* and *Scots* ( being spoke of as to their going home together, the one to the North, and the other to the West ) not be thought to have gone home to the same Isle, since different Isles are not mentioned ? and if I said, I were going to the West, that in common sense could only be understood, of the West of that *Kingdom* or *Island* where I then were ; and not of any other *Kingdom* lying to the West thereof. And both the *Picts* and *Scots* being equally called *Trans-marine* Nations, if the *Scots* went

went out of the Isle, it must follow that the *Picts* left it also, which never any was so ridiculous as to alledge. By all which it clearly follows, that the words *Scoti* & *Hiberni* were, before these Times, promiscuously ascribed to us. And tho *Beda* may speak of the *Scots* coming from *Ireland*, and settling a third Colony in *Britain* long before *Julius Cæsar's* time, yet that doth only prove the Antiquity of the Settlement of the People that are call'd *Scoti*, but not the Antiquity of their Name, concerning which *Beda* was not treating: for he rather seems to insinuate the contrary, when \* he says, *Aquo* \* Lib. i. cap. i. (viz. *duce Reuda*) *usque hodie Dal-reudini vocantur.*

6. The Passages produced by the Bp of St. *Asaph* & *Usher*, for proving that *Ireland* was called *Scotia*, after the Age that *Hegisippus* or *Ambrose* liv'd in, and within the 1000 Years, are very few: and many of them from Legendary Writers. But I shall glance at the most material. The first is *Isidor Hispalensis*, who

M                      lived

\* Lib. 14. cap.  
de insulis.

liv'd in the 7th Century, and who  
says \* *Scotia eadem & Hibernia, pro-*  
*xima Britanniae Insula, spatio terra-*  
*rum angustior, sed situ fecundior.*  
The same words are used by *Orosius*,  
whom he follows, except that *Oro-*  
*sius* calls the Inhabitants *Scoti*, but  
does not call the Country *Scotia*,  
but *Hibernia* : so that *Orosius* having  
first call'd the Inhabitants of *Ireland*,  
*Scoti*, in the Year 417 ; *Isidor* by  
an ordinary derivation calls their  
Country *Scotia*, and is the first that  
Arch-bishop *Usher*, or the Bishop  
of Saint *Asaph*, does produce to  
prove *Hibernia* to be call'd *Scotia* ?  
and is in the Year 620, and so is too  
late to prove their Design, since it is  
clearly prov'd that our Country  
was called *Scotia* in *St. Ambrose's*  
Time, even by their own concession.  
And whereas the same *Isidor*, speak-  
ing of *Ireland* says, *hæc est proprie*  
*Scotorum patria* ; beside what has  
been formerly urged, it is observable  
that the word *proprie* does imply  
as if it might have been justly doubt-  
ed, and that it was not true in all  
senses : especially since \* *Beda* uses  
the

\* Cap. I. lib. I.

the very same expression, after that he has fully cleared that we were settled here long before that time; and therefore it doth necessarily follow that these words are consistent with our being settled here; and consequently that they must not be so interpreted, as to infer that *Ireland* was the place where We then liv'd but only the place from which We came: And such as understand the Civil Law, (the best Standard of the Latine Language) must acknowledge, that there is, \* *Patria Originis*, as well as *Incolatus* & *domicilii*: And it may be justly said of those of *Virginia* and other English Plantations, that, *Anglia est proprie illorum patria*: And generally it is observable, that the Authors relating both to us and them, do first call the People *Scoti*, and then the Country *Scotia*: but still the more ancient Authors call us *Scoti* before them, and our Country *Scotia* before theirs.

\* Cujac, lib. 14.  
Obs. 12. & ad  
legem 6. parag.  
gramatici ff. de  
excus. mun.

As to the Citations out of *Adamnanus in vita Columbae*, and *Beda*:

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It is certain that *Adamnanus* is lately publish'd by an Irish Hand, as appears by the Marginal Notes, the Publisher still adding *Hibernia* in the Margin, where *Scotia* is in the Text. But however it is certain that *Adamnanus* was Abbot of *Hy*, which is *Ikolmkil* among the Scottish West Islands: so that in *dubio* he is presum'd to be a Scots-man, and not an Irish; and *Balaus* and others positively assert him to be a Scots-man. Nor is there any reason for their calling him an Irish-man; but because all Authors who speak of him, call him *Scotus*; and to assert a Man to be an Irish-man, because he is called Scots-man, is rather a Bull than a Reason. But because he is mention'd by *Beda*, who liv'd shortly after him, and is an Author of far greater Authority. What I shall observe from *Beda*, will serve to clear the Citations out of both.

\* Ecgfridus Rex Nordanhumbro-  
rum misso in Hiberniam cum exercitu duce Bertio,  
vastavit misere gentem innoxiam &  
Anglorum genti semper amicissimam. Bed. Hist. Eccl.  
lib. 4. cap. 26.

And first, *Beda* \* relates, That Ecgfrid King of Northumberland, having sent an Army into Ireland under Bertus, he wasted



wasted the Country, and the innocent People. And the next Year, having sent an Army to waste the Province of the Picts, contrary to the advice of his Friends, and of St. Cuthbert, God suffered that Army to be destroy'd, because the former Year he had rejected their Advice ; \* *That he should not invade Scotland, which did not wrong him.* And to clear that

\* Ne Scotiam  
nihil se Leden-  
tem impugnaret.  
I id.

the *Scotia* here express'd was not *Ireland*, he adds, † *The English and Scots who abide in Britain.* This Passage

† Angli & Scoti  
qui extant in  
Britannia. Ibid.

(as well as the others which I have cited, and shall cite) proves, 1. That *Scotland* then was promiscuously express'd by the names of *Hibernia* and *Scotia*: For the same thing is said first to have been done in *Hibernia*, and thereafter it is said to have been done in *Scotia*: And this answers the Objection, *Hiberni revertuntur domum*; and where could their Home be but in *Ireland*? 2. It proves that this our Country was call'd *Scotia* in *Beda's* Time; and so long before the Year 1000, which the Bishop denies. Nor can it be prov'd that the King of *Northumberland* went to make

War in *Ireland*; nor speaks *Beda* of any War with *Ireland*.

The next Passage from *Beda* is, where he says, \*

\* Columbanus qui anno incarnationis 565. Abbas & Presbyter venit de Hibernia in Britanniam predicaturus Verbum Dei provinciis septentrionalium Pictorum. Et gentem illam convertit, Unde & præfatam insulam ab eis in possessionem monasterii faciendi accepit; ubi sepultus est. Ex quo Monasterio, & Monasterio de Daermach per plurima Monasteria propagata sunt in Hibernia & Britannia, in quibus omnibus idem Monasterium insulanum, principatum tenet. Bed. lib. 3. cap. 4.

*Columbanus an Abbot and Presbyter, came in the year 565, from Ireland to Britain, to preach the Word of God to the Provinces of the North-picts: and converted them; and got from them possession of the former Island for founding a Monastery, where he was buried. Out of which Monastery (meaning Hy) many other Mo-*

*nasteries were propagated in Ireland and Britain; in all which the same Island - Monastery was the chief.*

And he takes notice, that the Successors of this Abbot differed in the Observation of *Easter* from

\* Ad hac ergo insula, ad Provinciam Anglorum institutam in Christo, missus est Aidanus. Lib. 3. c. 5.

the Church of *Rome*, till the Year 716. And thereafter he says, That

\* Aidan was sent from this Island for instructing the Province of the English. Now he had said before,

Aidan

† Aidan *who was sent from the Isle* † Aidanus de  
*which is called Hy, which is the chief* insula quæ voca-  
*of the Scottish and Pictish Monaste-* tur Hy destina-  
*ries, and belongs to Britain. And* tus, quæ æcem  
*thereafter he \* says, That Colman* tenet monasterio-  
*seeing his Doctrine slighted, and his* rum Scotorum  
*Adherents despised, returned to Scot-* & Pictorum,  
*land. So that we see, that that* & ad jus Bri-  
*which at the first is called \* Ireland;* tanniæ pertinet.  
*afterward is called † the said Island,* l. 3. c. 3.  
*and the Monastery in it, the \* Island-* \* Colman vi-  
*Monastery; and thereafter it is † cal-* dens spretam su-  
*led the Isle of Hy; and thereafter it* am doctrinam,  
*is \* called Scotland.* sectam; esse de-  
 spectam; Sco-  
 tiam regressus  
 est. l. 3. c. 26.  
 \* Cap. 4. † Ibid.  
 \* Ibid. † Cap. 3.  
 \* Cap. 26.

I shall cite a third Passage from  
*Beda, where speaking of a great*  
*Plague in Britain, he*  
*adds, \* This Plague also*  
*wasted Ireland with the*  
*same destruction; at which*  
*time there were there many*  
*of the Nobility and Com-*  
*mons of England, who in*  
*the time of the Bishops,*  
*Fman and Colman having*  
*left their own Native Island*  
*for the greater convenience,*  
*either of Divine Studies, or*

\* Hec autem plaga Hiberniam  
 insulam, pericula premebat: E-  
 rant ibidem eodem tempore mul-  
 ti Nobilium simul & mediocri-  
 um de gente Anglorum, qui  
 tempore Finani & Colmanni  
 Episcoporum, reliquæ insulæ  
 patriâ, vel divinæ lectionis, vel  
 continentioris vitæ gratiâ, illò  
 secesserunt. --- Quos omnes Scoti  
 libentissime suscipientes victum  
 eis quotidianum sine pretio, li-  
 bros quoq; ad legendum, & mi-  
 gisterium gratulatum præbere cu-  
 rabant. l. 3. c. 27.

*a more strict Life, had retired thither.*  
 — *All whom the Scots kindly entertain'd, and furnished with all things necessary, and gave them freely Meat, and Books to read, and Learning,*  
 And thereafter speaking of Egbert, who was among them, he adds,

† Unde & genti sue, & illis in quibus exulabat nationibus Scottorum sive Pictorum exemplum fuit. Ibid.

† That he was a good Example to his own Nation, and to the Nations of the Picts and Scots among whom he liv'd retiredly; by which passages it is evident, that that which is here called *Ireland*, is really our *Scotland*; first, because it is said, *they came from England upon the occasion of Finan and Colman*, who were our Countrymen, and whose chief residence was the Isle of *Hy*, or *Icolm-kill*, (from which they came) which did then, and does still belong to us only, and which the Bishop of *St. Asaph* also \* confesses: and then *because in their Monastick Life*, it is said, they resided among the *Scots and Picts*, and † it is said before that the Island where the Monastery was, belonged to *Britain*.

\* Cap. 5. generally, and specially, p. 102.

† Lib. 3. cap. 3. & ad jus Britanniae pertinet.

But

But for further clearing the former Citations, from *Beda* I shall offer these following Considerations.

1. That *Beda* treats only the Actions of these five Nations that did inhabite *Britain*: and if he do speak of *France* or *Ireland*, it is but upon occasion of them; as of the situation of *Ireland* from whence the Scots came, or of some Monasteries depending upon *Icolm-kill*, which perhaps were situated near us, in the North of *Ireland*: and therefore unless all these passages were clearly applicable to *Ireland*, they must be understood of *Scotland*. 2. It being certain, that *Beda*, in the beginning of his Book, treats concerning the Scots in *Britain*, the Roman Wars with them, and *Palladius's* being sent to them, it necessarily follows, that the rest of the Book mentioning the Scots, or that part of the Isle possess'd by them, is to be understood of us, whether the Country be called *Hibernia* or *Scotia*, or We *Hiberni* or *Scoti*: especially since *Beda* mentions a King call'd  
*Aidan*

\* *Buch. p.152.* *Aidan*; and \* we had a King of that Name in that time, which the *Irish* cannot pretend. *Beda* treats also concerning the Abbots of *Hy*, which is *Icolm-kill*, as is clear by that passage, \* where he says, *Columba, Founder of the Monastery in the Isle of Hy, venerable to the Scots and Picts, which by a compounded name from Columba and Cell is called Icolm-kill.* And that the Monks sent from this Monastery, or Island, were the Converters of the *North-Saxons*, and the first Bishops of *Lindisfern* or *Holy-Island*? Predecessors of the Bishop of *Durham*. 3. He makes frequent mention of little Islands, which never did belong to *Ireland*, but to *Scotland*, and are still called *Hebrides*; And so as the chief of these Isles where the Abbot resided the Records were kept, and the Kings were buried, might probably be called *Insula Hiberniæ*, or *Hibernia*, and that *Scotia* might be the Ordinary name to all that part of the Isle of *Britain* benorth the River of *Clyde*: so that the going from *Hiberniâ*, or *Scotiâ*, in *Britanniam*,

\* *Columba fundator monasterii quod in Hy insula, venerabile Scotis & Pictis, & composito nomine à Cellâ & Columbâ Collum-celli vocatur. lib.5. c.10.*

niam, is nothing but the going to the other side of *Clyde*, \* by which, \* *Bed.l.i.c.12.* and *Graban's-Dyke*, that part of the Isle was distinguished from the rest, as if it had been a distinct Island.

4. The great Controversy at that Time being about the keeping of *Easter*, *Laurentius Mellitus*, and *Justus*, Bishops, did write a Letter to us of the following Tenor. \* *Laurentius Mellitus, and Justus, Bishops, Servants of all the Servants of God, To our dearest Brethren, the Bishops and Abbots through all Scotland. Whileas the Apostolick Sea, according to the custom it hath observ'd in the rest of the World, did send us to preach the Gospel unto the Heathens in these Western Parts; and that it happened to us to come into this Isle which is called Britain; we held in religious reverence both the Scots*

\* *Dominis Charissimis fratribus Episcopis vel Abbatibus per universam Scotiam Laurentius Mellitus, & Justus, Episcopi servi servorum Dei. Dum nos Sedes Apostolica more suo, sicut in universo orbe terrarum, in his occiduis partibus ad predicandum gentibus Paganis dirigeret, atq; in hanc insulam, qua Britannia nuncupatur, contigit introisse, antequam cognosceremus credentes, quod juxta morem universalis Ecclesie ingrederentur, in magna reverentia sanctitatis tam Britones quam Scotos venerati sumus. Sed cognoscentes Britones, Scotos meliores putavimus. Scotos vero per Dagamum Episcopum in hanc quam superius memoravimus insulam, & Columbanum Abbatum in Galliis venientem, nihil discrepare a Britonibus in eorum conversatione didicimus. Nam Dagamus Episcopus ad nos veniens, non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio quo vescebamur sumere voluit.*  
*Bed. lib.2. cap.14.*

and

and Britons, believing that they did walk after the Custom of the Universal Church. But after we had known the Britons, we judg'd the Scots to be the better minded: Yet now we perceive by Dagamus, the Bishop who is come hither, and by Columbanus the Abbot in France, that the Scots differ nothing in their Observations from the Britons; for Dagamus being here, refused not only to eat with us, but even to stay in the same Inn or Lodging. Now that this is only applicable to us, and not to the Scots in Ireland, the Subject doth prove, being Exhortatory Letters, to conform in the Observation of *Easter*, wherein the British Scots, who follow'd *Columba*, differ'd from the Roman Church. 2. The Letter is written to the Scots, and relates to other Letters written to the Britons in the same Isle; and who needed the same Exhortation. And it is to be remembred, That *Usher* generally concludes, that where the Scots and Britons are mention'd in Conjunction, by Scots there, are to be understood the British Scots.

3. Came-



3. \* *Camerarius* cites *Georgius Newton*, who about the Year 1500, being then Arch-deacon of *Dumblain*, did write the Acts of that Church; and relates that he had seen the *Antographum* of that Letter among the Records of that Church; and so it must necessarily have been written to the Scots in *Britain*, else it had not been in the custody of our Churchmen, and at *Dumblain*.

\* In Append.  
ad l. 3. p. 23 r.  
And it is observable that  
*Marianus* p. 179  
makes mention of other  
two Letters, in  
the Year 632.  
The one from  
*Honorius*, and  
the other from  
Pope *John*, upon  
the same  
head: both  
which *Marianus*  
says, were  
sent to us, and  
not to the Irish.

I could produce many other Citations to prove *Scotland* to have been call'd *Hibernia* in those Ages: but it is sufficient to add to these unanswerable Proofs already produced, the authority of the Roman Martyrology; wherein *Sanctus Beatus* is design'd *Episcopus Aberdonia in Hibernia*, at the 16 of *December*. To which *Vardaus* an Irish-man in *vita Rumoldi* answers, That there might have been a place in *Ireland* call'd *Aberdeen*, because *Aber* is an Irish word, signifying a *Marish*, and there is a Town call'd *Down* in *Ireland*, situated near a *Marish*. A pretty Witticism indeed! especially as he  
pro-

\* *Dices in Martyrologio Romano vulgari legi ad diem 16. Decembris, Aberdone in Hibernia S. Beani Episcopi: Abredonensis autem sedes Episcopalis est in Scotia Britannica: Ergo vel in hac est, vel hac aliquando fuit Hibernia.* pag. 379.

*Ad nugatorium ergo Sophistia distinguo Minorem: Aberdonensis, locus de quo Martyrologium agit, est in Britannia, Nego Minorem: alius ejusdem nominis, transeat. Vel absolute, Nego Consequentiam, ob fallaciam figura dictionis; ut hanc, Omnis Canis est latrabilis; sed fidus est canis; Ergo fidus est latrabile, &c.* pag. 380.

proposes the Objection, and answers the same, as you may see upon the Margin. \* But to take off all Debate, *Beanus* is nam'd in our *Chartularies*, as well as *Histories*, as the first Bishop of *Aberdeen*: and the Mortifications granted to him by our King *Malcom 2d*, in the Year 1010, of the Lands of *Murthlack*, *Cloveth*, and *Downmeth*, are yet extant: and his Tomb is yet to be seen

in the Cathedral of *Aberdeen*, at the Postern Door of the Church.

To the former Passages I must also add, That albeit our Country was promiscuously call'd *Scotia*, and *Hibernia*, as has been prov'd, yet *Scotia*, even in that Time, was the more frequent Name of our Country: and which, to keep close to *Beda*, appears; for when he speaks of the Isle *Hy*, (to which the former Citations chiefly relate, and which was the place of our Country,

try, in which his History being Ecclesiastick, is chiefly concern'd, as being then one of (if not) the most famous Monastery in the Western World) he expresses it to be in *Scotia*: as where he

tells, That \* *Ceollach*, of the Nation of the Scots, leaving his Bishoprick in England, returned to Hy, where the Scots had their chief Monastery: And thereafter he tells, That † the same *Ceollach* having left his Bishoprick, return'd to Scotland: And the same \* *Beda*, writing of *Adamnanus*, calls him Abbot and Presbyter of the

Monks that are in the Monastery of Hy. And mentioning the same *Adamnanus*, † he tells, that he returned to Scotland, after his Embassy in England. And how can it be denied that Hy is in Scotland? since *Beda* calls it *Scotland*, and says, That it belong'd to Britain: and is by all Geographers nam'd one of our Hebrides, and lies locally within our

Coun-

\* *Ceollach de Natione Scottorum, qui non multo post Episcopatu relicto reversus est ad insulam Hy, ubi plurimorum caput. & arcem Scoti habuere canobiorum. Bed. l. 3. c. 21.*

† *Ceollach qui relicto Episcopatus officio vivens ad Scotiam rediit. Bed. l. 3. c. 24.*

\* *Adamnanus Presbyter & Abbas Monachiorum qui erant in insula Hy. Bed. l. 5. c. 16.*

† *Adamnanus reversus ad Scotiam. Bed. l. 5. c. 22.*

Country ; and was one of the first places which we planted, and far remoter from *Ireland*, than *Kintire* and others of our Islands ; and in which our Kings were buried, and our Records kept.

To conclude this Proposition, I shall add these Reflections.

1. That it is not so easy for the Bishop of St. *Asaph* to explicate himself as to these Passages concerning *Scotia* and *Scoti*, and to make them signifie *Ireland* and *Irish*, since the 500 Year, as before : for admitting that the Terms were anciently applicable to *Ireland*, and that the *Scots* when mention'd here, were but by Invasion from *Ireland* ; Yet it being acknowledg'd, that after the Year 500 we were settled here ; It follows, that when *Scotia* and *Scoti* are mention'd in relation to British affairs, and in conjunction with the Inhabitants of *Britain*, they must be understood of us, and our Country. 2. *Beda* mentioning our Country to be call'd *Scotia*, as well as *Hibernia*, from *Columba's* Time to his

his own, it is not only an evidence, that it was so call'd in that Time, but that the Name had not been then first given, otherwise he could not have been ignorant of the Change, nor would he have failed to remark it : so that we may reasonably conclude in his sense, the Name of *Scotia* is as ancient in *Britain*, as the Time he mentions the Settlement, Wars, and Religion of the Scots there. 3. It is evident, That the Bp of *St. Asaph's* \* Proposition is faulty, viz. \* Cap. 1. §. 9. That, *when we settled here after the Year 500, our Kingdom was call'd Argyle, or Dalrieda* : for if this had been true, this name being so recent, could not but have been noticed and used by *Gildas* and *Beda*, and yet it is never so much as once mention'd by either of them ; tho *Beda*, upon the occasion of the Monastery of *Hy*, or *Icolm-kill*, and of the Bishops sent thence to *England*, doth frequently mention the Names *Hibernia* and *Scotia*, and that *St. Asaph* \* doth not \* Cap. 5. §. 4. controvert, but that these Bishops 5, 6, 7, 8. were sent from our Isle of *Icolm-kill* to *England*. 4. We may observe how

N

war-

warrantable \* Arch-bishop *Usher's* Position (repeated by the Bishop of *St. Asaph*) is, That no Author mentions our Country by the name of *Scotia* for the first 1000 years; whereas most of all the former Authors, both within and without the Isle, prove *Scotia* to have been the name of our Country : and the whole Tract of *Beda's* History proves, that since the year 560, this Country was generally so called : Whereas neither *Gildas*, nor *Beda*, who lived near that Time, and wrote whole Books of us, do once call it *Dalrieda*, or *Argyle* : and consequently (as I observ'd before) the Bishop of *St. Asaph's* whole Sect. 9. of the first Chapter, wherein he asserts, that about the Year 500, the Scots erected the Kingdom of *Argile*, or *Dalrieda*, is most unwarrantable ; for though *Beda* calls us once *Dalrendini*, yet this is spoken of us by him, in the Time of our King *Reuda*, and so near 70 Years before the 503 after Christ. And from this also arises a clear confutation of what the Bishop of *St. Asaph* asserts, that

that no Author writing within the 1000 Years, and naming *Scotia*, means Us ; which is so far from being so, that no Author of Credit (*Isidore* only excepted) did then by *Scotia* mean *Ireland*. And the best Authority that Arch-bishop *Usher* gives us for *Dalrieda*, is *Jocelin* ; which my Lord St. *Asaph* hath improved by a new authority out of a Manuscript of the Lord *Burghlie's*, where the Author thinks that *Dalrieda*, and the Kingdom of *Argile*, are the same. Authors not to be once mentioned with those whom we cite.

7. The distinction of *Scotia Major*, and *Minor*, is lately invented ; for either *Ireland* was called *Scotia Major* before the Year 1000, or only since : if the first, then it necessarily implyeth, that at that Time our Country was also call'd *Scotia Minor*, there being no other place assignable. But this is contrary to Arch-bishop *Usher*, and my Lord St. *Asaph's* Position, who deny our Country was called *Scotia*

*tia* at all for the first 1000 Years. If it be asserted that this distinction was after the 1000 Years, then there was little or no use for it: For \* *Usher* tells us, that *Nubiensis Geographus*, about the Year 1150, describes *Ireland* by the name of *Hibernia*, and describes our Country by the name of *Scotia*: and so it seems at that time *Ireland* had lost the name in our favour; and it is not to be imagin'd that *Nubiensis* remarked the first Periods of the change of the Name; and Geographers do describe Countries by their ordinary Names. Nor does *Usher* \* produce any other Testimony, save a Letter of *Dovenaldus Oneil* Prince of *Ulster* to Pope *John 22d*, wherein there is this passage, \* *Beside the Kings of lesser Scotland, who all came originally from our greater Scotland.* And a Patent of *Sigismund* the Emperor, † *To the Convent of the Scots and Irish of Greater Scotland of a Monastery in Ratisbone.* Now *Usher* acknowledgeth the eldest of these two Citations, were in the 14th or 15th Century; when I hope no body

\* Pag. 734.

\* Pag. 724,  
& 737.

\* *Quod præter  
Reges minoris  
Scotiæ, qui om-  
nes de nostra  
majore Scotia  
originem sump-  
sero.*

† *Conventus  
Scotorum &  
Hibernorum de  
majore Scotia  
Monasterii in  
Ratisbona.*



body will assert, that *Ireland* was called *Scotia Major*, or that ever the Kings of *England*, who were Lords of *Ireland*, were ever called Lords *Majoris Scotiae* ; and it is probable they would have very much affected that Title (if the Country had had that name) altho they could never make themselves Masters *Scotiae Minoris*. But it is no wonder, that the Irish should be glad to tell Foreigners, that they were our Chief, and so their Country ought to be called *Scotia Major* ; notwithstanding that our Nation was then become great and glorious : and that *Usher* can find no better authority for his distinction of *Scotia Major* and *Minor*, than these borrowed and magnifying Names, used long after he himself acknowledgeth that *Ireland* had lost the name of *Scotia*, and that We were only in possession of it.

8. The mistaking of the Names of *Scotia* and *Hibernia*, and of that assertion, *Scotia eadem & Hibernia*, and applying these Names still to

*Ireland*, and not to our Country, hath been the Ground whereupon we have been injured, as to the antiquity of our *Kings* and *Country*, *Saints* and *learned Men*, *Monasteries*, and *greatness Abroad*. For admitting it to be true, that we were not settled here till the Year 500, yet we have been so happy, as to have such excellent Men, and to have done so considerable Actions, as have been sufficient to tempt our Neighbours, and particularly the Irish, to take great pains to have both pass for their own. In order to which the Irish have lately invented the distinction of *Scotia Major* and *Minor*, to the end, that when any considerable Person is called a Scots-man in History, they might claim him as descended from the *Greater Scotland*. But besides, that this distinction is too new to be extended to ancient Writers, How can it be imagined that our Country, only having passed under the Name of *Scotland* before the 300, and after the 1100, as has been proved, *Ireland* should have assumed the Name of *Scotland* in

in that Interval ? Is it not more reasonable to think that our Country, which alone was design'd by that Name, before the 300, and after 1100, bore it likewise only, or at least chiefly, during that interval. But to assert that, during that space, another Country had our old and present designation in a more peculiar manner than we ; and that in dubious Cases it must be appropriated to them, is a piece of confidence which even eminent Wit and Learning cannot support. And yet we find, in *Malcom* the Second's Time, (as was formerly observ'd) who began to Reign in the Year 1004, That the Frith of *Forth* (in his Laws, in the Book of *Regiam Majestatem*) is call'd *Mare Scotiæ* : And it is said there, that the same King did distribute, *omnem Terram Scotiæ hominibus suis* : and it is not to be concluded, that this was the first time that our Country was so call'd. And about that time *Ireland* was expressed only by the name of *Hibernia* ; for King *Henry* the 2<sup>d</sup> of *England*, who began to Reign

in the Year 1154, is stiled *Lord of Ireland*.

And to clear further that *Scotia* about those times was the ordinary name for *Scotland*, and *Hebernia* for *Ireland*, I shall only add some few Passages out of *Marianus Scotus*, who was born in the Year 1028, and died in the Year 1086,

\* *Brianus Rex*  
*Hiberniæ neca-*  
*tur.* pag. 423.  
† *Moelcolium*  
*Rex Scotiæ o-*  
*biit*, *Donchad*  
*filius filie ejus*  
*sibi successit.*  
pag. 424.

\* *Donchad Rex*  
*Scotiæ occiditur*  
*& Meffinlaech*  
*successit in Reg-*  
*nate ejus.* p. 425.  
† *Pag.* 427.  
\* *Mackbeth.*

\* who sayes, that about the Year 1016, *Brianus*, *King of Ireland*, was killed; and a little thereafter, † at the Year 1034. *Malcolm King of Scotland died*, and *Duncan the Son of his Daughter succeeded him*. And after that he sayes, at the Year 1040, \* *Duncan King of Scotland*, was killed, and the son of *Finlay succeeded in his Kingdom*, whom afterward † he calls \* *Machetad King of Scotland*. All which passages agree exactly with our History, and the summary of our Kings Lives, as they are recorded in our Acts of Parliament, and prove that *Marianus* treats of *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as different Kingdoms in his Time.

In

In the last place, I shall make some Remarks upon the most palpable of these Mistakes, and of the chief Authors thereof: wherein I shall vindicate the Right and Dignity of our Country, and assert these worthy Persons controverted to be ours. I shall not insist much against *Staniburst*, he being solidly confuted by \* *Camerarius*, and with that severity \* *Appen. ad l. 3.* by *Dempster*, that his Nephew Bishop *Usher* (as the Duke of *Lauderdale* remarked in some Judicious Reflections of his upon this occasion) did highly resent it, and in this Matter hath exceeded his usual Temperament and Moderation. And yet *Staniburst* never speaks injuriously of our Nation; for though he mistakes many things, and applies them to his own Country; yet it appears to be, rather of Design to magnifie it, than injure ours: for he acknowledeth ingenuously, \* *That* \* *Lib. i. p. 17.* *he doth not clearly see from what time* *Verum à quo primum initio Scotiae nomen sit tractum, nondum plane perspectum* *the Name of Scotland commenced.* And though thereafter he taxeth *Boethius* upon the Subject of *Gathe-*

*lus*

lus and *Scota*, and that he mixeth Fables and Vain glory with his History ; yet he neither disapproves of *Buchannan*, nor follows he *Luddus*, both of whom he cites, and who were immediatly before him ; his Book being printed at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1584. In his Appendix also, Commenting upon *Giraldus Cambrensis* ( a *Welsh-man*, and Secretary to King *Henry 2d* of *England*, and flourished before the end of the 12th Century ) He translates *Cambrensis*, who describes *Ireland* by the name of *Hibernia*, and makes frequent mention of our Country under the name of *Scotia* ; as when he speaks of the extent of *Ireland*, he says ( as *Staniburst* interprets it ) that \* *it is equal in largeness* to *Wales* and *Scotland*. And elsewhere he says, that † *Scotland is called the North part of the Isle of Britain*. And afterwards he tells the Story of *Morreds* six Sons, and that from them the Inhabitants of the North part of *Britain*, \* *by a specifick word*, were called the *Scotish Nation*. And *Staniburst* in his Annotations on these two

\* *Quanta circumscriptis Wallia & Scotia potior insula Britannicæ pars Regibusq; antiquis appropriata.* pag. 223.

† *Scotia quoque pars Insulæ Britannicæ dicitur Aquilonaris.* p. 245.

\* *Specificato vocabulo gens Scotica appellatur.* cap. 19.

two Chapters contends, that before St. *Patrick's* time our Country was called *Scotia* ; and brings for proofs St. *Jerome*, who asserts that the Scots were *Gens Britannica*; but with great concern he vindicates us from the calumny of eating Mens Flesh: and for our Antiquity he cites *Beda*, who says, that *Sub duce Rendâ* we made a third Nation in *Britain*. So that we see that neither the Welsh in *Giraldus's* time, nor the Irish in *Stan-hurst's* time, had the Opinion of our late Settlement, and that our Country was not call'd *Scotia* for 1000 Years after Christ; which their Successors *Luddus*, *Cambden*, *Usher* and *St. Asaph* have had. And the Irish in those days took a far better way for advancing their own interest in doing us justice; since from all the considerable Actions we did, there did arise a measure of that Honour to them, from whose Country we came as a Colony: Whereas since they were influenc'd by Strangers, they have suffer'd themselves to be impos'd upon, so as to lessen our true Merit, in appropriating

ating immediatly to themselves those devout persons, who were really our Country-men : not considering that the material injustice was much greater than the imaginary honour : And this *Plagiarism* and *Man-stealing* became easie to them since our Reformation from Popery, because after that time we became too careless of those eminent Persons both at home and abroad, who had liv'd in the Roman Communion, or before that time. But I will not insist on this, for I hope their native kindness will incline them to return to their first just methods.

\* Pag. 789.

If I had leisure, I would make larger Reflections, to prove how unsequential Arch Bp *Usher* is, in making *Sedulius* and *Marianus* Irish : since by all Writers they are both call'd *Scots*, and *Baleus* an Englishman tells us, that † *Sedulius* flourish'd under *Fergus 2d.* and \* *Marianus* under *Macbeth*, both our Kings ; and *Baronius* asserts also this positively. And *Sedulius* having liv'd before St. *Patrick's* Time ( who was the first Apostle of Ireland ) and

† Pag. 187.  
Cent. 14.

\* Pag. 210.  
Cent. 14.



and being Disciple to *Hildebert* an  
 acknowledg'd Scot, and wholiv'd in  
 the 390, must be prior to the Irish  
 Christianity ; which *Giraldus* and  
*Staniburst* acknowledge to have  
 been first planted by *St. Patrick* in  
 the Year 432. Nor can \* *Usher* in \* Pag. 789.  
 all his vast reading, find any Christi-  
 ans in *Ireland* betwixt the Year 400,  
 and 432, which was *St. Patrick's*  
*Time*, but *Kiaranus*, *Ailbens*, *Decla-*  
*nus*, *Ibarus* : Tho if *Sedulius* had  
 been an Irish, he had been certainly  
 mention'd and employ'd, before those  
 obscure Persons ; and certainly he  
 would have employed himself be-  
 fore *St. Patrick's Time* in the Con-  
 version of his own native Country,  
 if he had been truly Irish. And as  
 to *Marianus Scotus*, it is a wonder  
 how it can be controverted that he  
 was a Scots-man ; since our Country  
 was then called *Scotland* by the Bp of  
*St. Asaph's* own confession ; and *Ireland*  
 was just then losing that name ; and  
*Marianus* in his whole Book distin-  
 guishes betwixt *Scoti* and *Hiberni*,  
 and mentions the forementioned  
 three Kings of *Scotland* about whose  
 Time

\* *Ad Scotos in* Time he liv'd ; and also makes men-  
*Christum cre-* tion of one King of Ireland about  
*dentes ordinatus* that time : as has been observed al-  
*a Papa Celesti-* ready ; and particularly, speaking of  
*no Palladius pri-* the Conversions \* by *Palladius* and  
*mus Episcopus* *St. Patrick* , he expressly distinguishes  
*missus est. Post* betwixt *Scoti* , and *Hibernenses*.  
*ipsum Sanctus*  
*Patricius conse-*

*cratus & ad*  
*Archiepisco-*  
*pum Hibernen-*  
*sem mittitur, &*  
*totam insulam*  
*Hiberniam con-*  
*vertit ad fidem.*  
 pag. 340.

But passing these, I confess it is pretty ridiculous to see a whole Book written by the above-men- tioned *Vardæus* , and glossed by *Sirin* , and published at *Louvain* 1662, to prove that *Rumoldus* Arch-Bishop of *Mecklin* was an Irish-man : since the Arms of Scotland (which are, Or, a Lion Rampant Gules, within a doubles Tressure flowred and counterflowred with Flower de lis of the same) are plac'd upon every Window of the Cathedral Church built by him, and are to this day a part of the Arms of that Archi-Episcopal See, *Rumoldus* himself being a younger Brother of the *Royal-Family* of Scotland : And in which witty Book, the Author, to confute this, \* is forced to maintain that the Scottish Lion is born by several Irish Families ; And the double Tressure, tho anciently born

\* Artic. 4. &  
 pag. 281.

born by *Scotland*, and which is Blazon'd in that Archi-Episcopal Coat of Arms, might have been born by the Irish, because that famous League betwixt the Scots and *Charle-maigne*, was made with the Kings of *Ireland*, and not with the Kings of *Scotland*; and that our Kings had never any Leagues with the *French*, till the reign of *Charles 7th* who was contemporary with our King *James 1st*: Whereas the whole French Histories, as well as ours; and all Foreign Historians, as well as either, the Leagues yet extant; the Priviledges granted thereupon to us, recorded in the French Registers, and ours; many Decisions in Parliaments, and other Courts; and the universal consent of all the French who ever liv'd since that Time, do in all Humility seem to be sufficient Warrants for laughing at this monstrous Assertion; as I do at him and others, who pretend that the Scottish Monasteries in *Germany*, are Irish: since they were founded in *Charle-Maigne's* Time, by *William* Brother to our King *Achaius*, and  
 others

others that went there with him ; and they are to this day govern'd by Abbots and Priors of our Country : Nor can it be understood, how the *French* and *Germans* could mistake their own Records and *Foundations* for so many hundreds of Years together, and by this I leave my Reader to measure the other unjust pretensions of such Authors.

I hope it now at last appears, that I have detected those ingenious Artifices, which this learn'd Bishop was forc'd to use, to supply his want of solid and just grounds in this his undertaking. As,

1. That, to conciliate respect to this Undertaking, as well as to excuse it, he pretends that it was necessary for the defence of Episcopacy.

2. He makes a great muster of old Authors in the beginning of his Book, as if all these were Men of great credit, and did concur with him to refute our History ; and adorns his Margins with formidable numbers of Citations.

3. Know-

3. Knowing that it could be prov'd, both by British and Foreign Historians, that we were here very anciently, he confesses this; but by a new and strange Invention, he asserts that we were not here as settled Inhabitants, but only by way of Incurfion.

4. He defers our Setling here, till the Year 503, and so longer than the first Inventors of this new Story did; upon design to make our Settlement here, later then that of the *Anglo-Saxons*, who settl'd here in *Anno* 449.

5. He lessens the reputation of all our Historians, and endeavours also to make them pass but for one; as if the succeeding Historian had seen no other Warrants, but the preceding Histories.

6. He treats in ridicule *Jeffrey*, and some other Historians of his own Country, whom he knew could not be sustain'd however; and this he does upon design, to shew his impartiality, and that he spares not his own more than ours.

O

7. For

7. For the same reason he decrys the British descent from *Brutus*: in which he loses nothing, because no sober Man could have defended it; and he denies the Conversion of their own King *Lucius*, to strike thereby with the greater authority at the Antiquity of our *Royal-Line* and *Nation*, treating King *Donald's* Conversion also as a Fable: and thus according to our Proverb, *He is content to let a Friend go with a Foe.*

8. He complements our Nation in latter Times, to excuse the Injury he does our Kings and Antiquity.

9. He uses the Foreign Authors that should be urg'd for us, to prevent our using of them as proving Arguments against him.

10. Finding that *Ireland* has been call'd *Scotia*, he transplants our old Saints thither, and applies to it, all that is said of our Country: nor did ever any Author improve better a pitiful Clinch.

11. He concurs in another design like to this: for, because it could not be deny'd that *Fergus* was

was our first King; all the Citations for proving this, are therefore apply'd to *Fergus* the Second, and not to *Fergus* the First.

Lastly ; Whereas *Cambden* and Arch-bishop *Usher* speak doubtingly of their own Arguments ; the Bishop of St. *Asaph* fearing that his Reader could not be convinc'd, of what himself was not, he therefore proposes all these Arguments, with a confidence, which would seem to argue that full conviction in himself, which he wishes in others.

If any Person then would know how that *Scotland*, which was but a small Colony, grew up to a Kingdom that deserv'd so well: my thoughts of this are, that, 1. The constant defence that we were oblig'd to make against the *Romans* and *Britons* at first, and *English* thereafter, Nations wise, brave, and polish'd, living in the same Isle with us, and the *Picts* within us, did force us to think and fight ; and the observing the Actions & Conduct of such Enemies could not leave the observers

rude or ignorant : and it's like that the Glory of such Noble Adversaries; rais'd our Wit and Courage above the pitch of a Northern and confin'd Nation. 2. Our Country having had the happiness to stop the *Roman* Conquest, this gave Strangers a value for us ; and therefore when any of the gallant *Britons* scorn'd to submit to the slavery and drudgery of a Conquest, they fled unto us from the *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans* ; and being passionate lovers of Liberty, they animated us by their Assistance and Example. This likewise brought in brave Strangers amongst us, as all gallant Spirits did lately run to *Holland* in its first rise : and (as our Historians probably relate) very many of those return'd with *Fergus* the Second from the Wars in *Italy*, whither that generous young Prince went to assist *Alarick* against the *Romans*, in a just resentment of the injury done by them to his Predecessors, and with whom he was present at the sacking of *Rome*. 3. We have been very happy in so Heroick and Wise a Race of Kings, whole



whose Blood being refin'd by a long Royal Descent, hath been thereby purify'd from all meanness, and elevated to that Love for glory, which is ordinary in those, who never knew what it was to obey. 4. Our Country having entered early into a remarkable League with *France*, in the Reign of *Charle-Maigne*; our Country-men got excellent Breeding, under so Wise and Valiant a Prince; and have ever since, by being constantly employed in the *French*, and other Wars, attain'd to a degree of Merit, beyond what was to be expected in this Climate. 5. Our Country having neither Bogs nor Fogs, our Ground being Rocky and Gravelly, and our Air fann'd by Winds; this preserves us from the dulness and phlegm of the Northern Climats; and the want of that superfluous Plenty, and bewitching Pleasure, which softned even *Hannibal* when he came to *Capua*, preserves us against the Delicacy and Effeminateness of Southern Nations. And whereas (Heroick Virtue being still attended by Envy) some

in railery pretend, that we were unconquer'd, because we deserv'd not the pains and trouble of a War. I need not seriously answer, what no Historian can urge : For it is ridiculous to think, that the *Romans* would not have rather conquer'd us, than built two strong and expensive Walls against us, which bounded their Fame, aswell as their Conquest. And *England* hath taken too much pains to gain us, either by Conquest or Alliance, to have undervalued us. And though when we were divided by the differences betwixt the *Bruce* and *Barliol* of old, and betwixt the *Royalists* and *Covenanters* of late; the half of our Country having only defended its Liberties, whilst the other half joyn'd with its Enemies; we were rather betray'd than overcome : And yet we soon recovered our former Liberty. Albeit, to be overcome by *England* had been no great affront to us: *England* being a greater and richer Nation than we are. And therefore I hope, all honest Men will, with Judicious  
*Samuel*

*Samuel Daniel* in his History, at the Year 1296, confess, that it had been a pity, we had not had a better Country, to be the Theatre of so many worthy and heroick Actions.

Having thus clear'd how our Nation arriv'd at its present consistence, I am to finish this Discourse, with a representation of the many Rights which our Kings have to the *Imperial Throne* of these Kingdoms; and to show how they succeed to all who ever pretended to Monarchy in any of them.

As to the British part of the Isle, *Aurelius Ambrosius* was, by common consent, chosen sole Prince of all the *Britons*: And he had no other Succession, save two Daughters, *Anna* married to the King of the *Picts*, and *Ada* married to the King of the *Scots*. *Mordredus* King of the *Picts*, Grand-child to the fore-said *Aurelius*, finding himself debarr'd from the Succession of the British Crown, employ'd the Scots, who

fought for him against the *Britons*. But the *Britons* having called in the *Saxons*, after a bloody Battel, both Parties were forced to withdraw ; and the King of the *Pi&ts* was induc'd to desist from his Pretentions at that time. But thereafter *Hungus*, King of the *Pi&ts*, and the direct Heir of the same *Mordredus*, and consequently of *Ambrosius* King of the *Britons*, gave his Sister *Fergusiana* to *Achais* King of the *Scots* ; and in her Right, *Alpin* King of *Scotland* succeeded both to the British and Pi&tish Crowns ; *Hungus* having died without any Children, *Kenneth* the 2d, Son to *Alpin*, was forc'd to conquer the *Pi&ts*, who refus'd unjustly to receive him as their lawful King.

Our Kings are likewise Lineal Heirs of the Danish-Race, who were Kings of *England* for 27, or as others say, 29 Years ; they being the only Lineal Successors of *Canutus* King of the *Danes* in *Britain* : for *Margaret*, Wife to King *Malcolm* the 3d, was Sister to *Edgar*, which *Edgar* was

was Grand-child to *St. Edward*, who was Brother to *Hardiknut*, Son to *Canutus*.

After this the Kingdom of *England* return'd to the old Stock in King *Edward's* Time; to whom succeeded *Edgar*, whose Sister the pious Queen *Margaret* married King *Malcolm* the 3<sup>d</sup> of *Scotland*, by whom he came to have right to the Crown of *England*; there being none extant of the old *Royal-Saxon-Line* besides her self: And with her came very many of the Nobility, who fled from *William the Conquerour*, after he conquer'd *England*, and with whom King *Malcolm* would not make Peace, till such of them as resolv'd to return were restored to their Estates.

The next *Royal-Race* which flourish'd in *England*, was the *Norman*: and to that Race our Kings succeeded thus.

The Line of *William the Conqueror* was branch'd out in the Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*. To the House of  
Lan-

*Lancaster*, they succeed as Heirs by the marriage betwixt *Joan* Daughter to the Duke of *Somerset*, and undoubted Successor of the Family of *Lancaster*. And to both *Lancaster* and *York* they succeed, by being Heirs to *Henry* the 7<sup>th</sup>; in whom these Successions were again happily reconcil'd; he having married *Elizabeth* eldest Daughter to *Edward* the 4<sup>th</sup>, who had transferred the Succession of the *Crown* from the House of *Lancaster*, to that of *York*, or at least had united the two in one. For clearing whereof, it is fit to know, that *Henry* the 7<sup>th</sup> had only four Children, *Arthur*, *Henry*, *Margaret*, and *Mary*. *Arthur*, and *Henry* dying without Succession, the Right of the *Crown* was certainly devolv'd upon the Children of *Margaret* the Daughter; who did bear King *James* the 5<sup>th</sup>, in a first Marriage with King *James* the 4<sup>th</sup>; and *Margaret Douglas*, by a second Marriage with the Earl of *Angus*: which *Margaret* being married to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, had two Sons; the eldest whereof was *Henry*,  
 who

who thereafter married *Queen Mary* Daughter to King *James* the 5th; and begot upon her King *James* the 6th: and thus King *James* the 6th was upon all sides Heir to *William the Conquerour*, and to *Henry* the 7th.

The Histories also of both Nations confess, that our King is the undoubted Successor of the *Blood-Royal of Wales*: for *Walter Stuart*, from whom our Kings are descended, was Grand-Child to the King of *Wales*, by his Daughter, \* who \* *Lest. in vita*  
 married *Fleanchus* Son to † *Banghuo*: *Dav. 2.*  
 and *Henry* the 7th (to whom King † *Baker, p. 159.*  
*James* the 6th was the true Successor) was also the righteous Heir *Edit. 1643.*  
 of *Cadwallader* the last Prince of *Wales*.

The Histories both of *Scotland* and *Ireland* do acknowledg, that our Kings are undoubtedly descended from the Royal Race of the Kings of *Ireland*; and all the debate that can be, is only whether they be descended from King *Ferquhard*, Father

ther to King *Fergus* the first , or from *Eric* Father to King *Fergus* the second ; or from some other Irish Kings, as *Usher* pretends.

From all which I may draw two Conclusions ; First, that God has, from an extraordinary kindness to those Kingdoms, lodged in the Person of our present Sovereign, King *James* the 7<sup>th</sup> (whom *GO D Almighty* long preserve) all those opposite, and different Rights, by which our Peace might have been formerly disturb'd . 2. That His *Majesty* who now Reigns, has deriv'd from His Royal Ancestors, a just and legal Right by Law, to all those Crowns, without needing to found upon the Right of Conquest : so that the very endeavour, to exclude him from all those Legal Rights, by Arbitrary Insolence , under a Mask of Law, was the height of Injustice, as well as Imprudence.

*F I N I S.*



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